COMMUNICATION AS A LIFE PROCESS

VOLUME TWO

The Holistic Paradigm in Language Sciences

Edited by Marta Bogusławska-Tafelska
and Małgorzata Haładewicz-Grzelak

STUDIES IN ECOLINGUISTICS

Communication as a Life Process Volume Two

Studies in Ecolinguistics
Volume 2

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Part Two: Mainstream Interdisciplinary Language Studies: Discourse Analysis, Neostructuralism, Cultural Linguistics

PREFACE

The philosophical and methodological perspective we set in this volume for consideration and contemplation is both new and renewed. On the one hand, there is a tradition of process-orientation and interrelatedness started by Ch. S. Peirce and A. N. Whitehead, in the philosophical and semiotic fields of the mid-twentieth century, which makes the present book proposal a particular resurrection or revival of those research perspectives. On the other hand, though, in the vast, multimodal research ground of modem mainstream language and communicational studies, scholars have not identified themselves with Peircean or Whiteheadean philosophical pathways. It was Ferdinand de Saussure and Roman Jakobson and their formal/structural approach to human language that paved the way for modem linguistic work. As a result, contemporary linguistics has been confined into the (neo)structuralist, cognitive, or neo-Darwinian philosophical frames. In this sense, the dynamic, ecological perspective delineated in the present volume will indeed be novel and fresh, sometimes maybe too futuristic - although we hope still worth considering - for the majority of linguistic scholars today.

Communication as a life process. The holistic paradigm in language sciences is a continuation of the project initiated with the first volume in 2017. Our aim was to continue explorations of the ecological aspects of communication processes. As in the previous volume, the range of topics, perspectives and domains covers a wide array of analytical categories and modalities (e.g. music, visual discourse, religious discourse). However, the overall focus on harmonious and fulfilling communication binds this multifariousness.

We can notice paradoxical complementarities in our vision of this volume. To build the science of language and communication on the most recent philosophical and methodological proposals, which seems a logical thing to do as we are to account for communicational phenomena from the most advanced scientific perspective obtainable today, we propose to implement into the scientific method the two alleys of scientifically accessing reality, that is, the third-person observation-experiment-algorithm method being the traditional method of doing science; and the inner, first-person insights of contemplative science, in a sense of phenomenological *flaneurie* through explored cultural landscapes being, again both a renewal

and a progressive, avant-garde scholarly approach. After all, before new scientific models and theories come into being and incite scientific experimentation and validation phase, it is the insight or intuition of a singular thinker that starts the process. And, throughout the process, the collective effort of the scientific community becomes continually complemented by the individual effort of the thinker. Why not, finally, grant this essential contemplative phase of scientific work a stable scientific status?

In order to model theoretically the process of communication within the living system and between living systems, we need the interdisciplinary, grid approach of ecolinguistics. Such complementarities as the structure-approach and the process-approach build up the methodology proposed hereby. The pre-supposed and inertia-driven dominance of cognicentrism of Western humanistic and social sciences is complemented in the volume by emerging and growing in strength ecologism. And the two models of the world that sciences discuss today – the Newtonian model and the post-Newtonian model – become for us the two complementary scientific plateaus to investigate human communication.

The present volume contains chapters grouped in two categories: studies crossing the boundaries of modern mainstream linguistics towards language and communication research in the eco-holistic paradigm (Part One); and texts exploring the interdisciplinary plane of mainstream cognitive linguistics, (neo)structural linguistics, discourse analysis, religious discourse and cultural linguistics (Part Two).

Marta Bogusławska-Tafelska undertakes a discussion how to approach the problem of teaching Western people the precepts of the holistic paradigmatic framework; what type of discourse to apply in communicating the recent scientific findings which, after all, violate most of the intuitions and belief systems Westerners have about life processes and themselves. Dr Bogusławska-Tafelska looks at two discourse planes reached for this purpose today, namely the spiritual discourse and the discourse of ecologism. Both conceptual-terminological types of intellectual exposition are used currently in scientific debates and academic didactics to promote and teach the emerging now, collective communicational/relational space of 'the culture of consciousness'.

The chapter authored by **Katarzyna Mazur-Kajta** describes the challenges and importance of harmony in interpersonal communication. Based on the interviews performed in 2017 with young Polish people living in Opole Silesia, and the literature review, the author approaches the different sides of harmony from the Polish and Chinese points of view.

Wenjuan Zhou in her text discusses Chinese ecolinguistics as a new harmonious life paradigm in which harmonious discourse analysis can be a new agenda. The author maintains that ecolinguistics in the global context should go beyond the dualistic Newtonian-Cartesian thinking. Chinese ecological wisdom embodied in the tenets of Chinese ecoliguistics can offer valuable insights for the future linguistic research.

The holistic paradigm has been replacing today a more constricted, materialistic framework of Descartes, Newton or Darwin, to mention but three well-recognised of its builders.

The chapter authored by **Alina Andreea Dragoescu Urlica** explores the role of language in the life-sustaining interactions between species and the environment. It calls into question the linguistic-cultural superstructures and paradigmatic constructs which underpin communication processes. The discussion proposes an eco-holistic re-consideration of communication as the process of meaning co-construction.

Aleksandra Włodarczak, Agnieszka Kossowska and Małgorzata Haładewicz-Grzelak in their chapter raise the topic of the ecology of classroom instruction in the education of children with hearing disabilities. The study reports a classroom investigation carried out in two special schools for deaf and hard of hearing children, cast against the tenets of the ecology of communication (cf. e.g. Puppel, 2014; Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2016) and with the use of the concept for a communicative community introduced by Ludwik Zabrocki (1963). The results of the pilot study point to the rift between the two educational resources of this community, ensuing from the lack of a uniform educational strategy. The education of children with hearing impairments in Poland is shown to be a total refutation of ecology of mind. Bilingualism is proposed as a remedial strategy.

Julia Kim looks at the interfaces between language/communication and cultural belief systems within the realm of religious discourse. Her study comparatively analyzes a Korean text and an English text on women's ordination written by Baptist scholars to examine what role culture might play in advancing religious views. Some of the unique features found in the Korean text include repeated parallelisms and rhetorical questions as well as emphasis on group identity, while the English text resorts to lexico-semantic ploys.

Ioan Milică's research aim is to put in the extended perspective the structural, typological, functional and cultural study of proverbs by adding comprehensive historical frames to the model. The author in his study goes beyond a mere systemic analysis of proverbs and argues that 'the variation of proverbs across time, space, social structure and style should not be

regarded as a monolithic process but as a lively competition among discursive traditions. The history of each text-type presents itself as the background against which the life of proverbs should be observed'.

Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja, a designer, artist and explorer of spiritual horizons, looks at semiotic processes, the layers of meaning and the text-image dynamics in literary writings. To illustrate her theoretical perspectives, the author puts to analysis Umberto Eco's 1980 historical novel *The Name of the Rose*. Her explorations of a mediaeval soul are illustrated with her own artwork, relating to the psychology of colors.

Aneta Smolińska's chapter is a continuation of her multimodality research on fragrance advertising within the context of high and low context cultures. The study evolves at the conflux of sociolinguistics and anthropolinguistics, focussing on intertextuality and graphology in advertising messages. The results show that the choice of typeface and layout used in perfume advertisements is not fortuitous and it does not only focus on the product but also on the potential buyer. Particular taxonomies (low versus high context) emphasize different kinds of emotional bonds to make the audience involved in the advertising communication process.

Artistic expression, being a communication process itself, also breaks off the reliance on convention in its semiotic processes of meaning making. According to **Anna Granat-Janki**, the upcoming trend in the poetics of modern music has it that clear-cut interpretation of its sense and meaning is no longer possible. The music of contemporary sur-conventional composers is a testimony to the time when intertextuality became the fundamental feature of art. The composers juggle with music of the past so that the semantic field of their music is unclear and ambiguous. Sur-conventional works provoke multiple and diverse associations and this is where their artistic value lies.

The next chapter analyses various displays of gender asymmetry in Polish sports language. The major part is dedicated to feminatives, i.e. female names for sports competitors. **Brygida Sawicka-Stępińska** describes word-formation mechanisms and verifies the presence of sports feminatives in the most popular Polish online dictionaries in relation to their masculine equivalents.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Last but not least, when it comes to acknowledgments, I have noticed that no matter how many names we include in our thanks giving address, we can hardly embrace all the dear people who have been participating in the process, at some point, in some way; and we can hardly put into linguistic forms the depth and value of the fondness we cherish for them. Nevertheless, hereby I express my heartfelt gratitude to all my friends, scholars and students around me who, throughout a decade or more, have been open to the ecological and holistic ideas in modern language/communicational studies, and who helped me to put the ecolinguistic message across to the linguistic community.

When I think about it, I feel deeply grateful to peculiar, pulsating, ever-living life everywhere. My ecolinguistic volumes written or co-written so far are the reflection of my regard and appreciation for all-that-is.

Marta Bogusławska-Tafelska
March 2018

PART ONE:

FROM COGNITIVISM TO ECOLOGISM IN MODERN SCIENCE: COOPERATION, FLOW, AND HARMONY EMERGING

'A CULTURE OF CONSCIOUSNESS': TOWARDS FUNCTIONAL EDUCATIONAL MODELS TO IMPLEMENT IT

MARTA BOGUSŁAWSKA-TAFELSKA

Abstract

A modern holistic paradigm, the framework of which is based on the findings of the 20th c. physics and the research within new sciences (the systems theory, epigenetics, new biology, CAM research in Western medicine, to mention but these), enters the mainstream Western science and non-academic domain of the collective consciousness. The social/cultural result of this process is the emergence of 'the culture of consciousness' (cf. Walach, 2015 a; 2015 b). In the present chapter, we look at this paradigmatic shift; we provide a concise characterisation of the process; and we put to debate the optimal conceptual-terminological set of tools to think, talk and educate about the new paradigm which is in the process of coming into being. The ecological metaphor in (i) discourse and in (ii) ecological thinking seems particularly useful here, as it allows to express and consider the new paradigm in a relatively neutral, light and nonbiased way.

Key terms: the culture of consciousness, the holistic paradigm, ecolinguistics, the conceptual-terminological plane, paradigmatic shift

1. Introduction

The mainstream cognitivist paradigm dominating present-day Western sciences, among them being modern linguistics, educational science; the paradigm which is the framework of thought and reaction models of the public (non)consciousness of the West, is not equipped philosophically or methodologically to study creative behaviours of humans. While it can be

attested today that all life systems are creative systems, that is, they are emergent on different layers of the systemic grid, at the same time the mainstream scientific tools we use in the research today allow for exploring re-creative life mechanisms, rooted in the material realm of objects, forms and conventional behaviours. Moreover, while we know today that life processes are local and nonlocal, material and non-material, chaotic and open (cf. Walach von Stillfried, 2011; Goli, 2016; Walleczek, 2000; Penrose, 2005), the cognitivist paradigm which is surpassing the scholarly work of the Western mainstream science, is not able to study life systems in their complexity and to embrace this processual and structural complementarity. And, it fails to offer good applicational proposals of how to effectively and successfully navigate one's own self within and in relation to life systems (cf. Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2016). So, in order to attempt systematic studies and applicational studies to build useful models for education, (self) therapeutic programs, for holistic models of health and well-being, or for undisturbed and constructive communication processes among people, we need to step onto another conceptual-terminological platform, distinct from the mainstream cognitivist one. We need to shift the paradigm within which we consider and study life systems. That is, we need to construct our thinking styles and locate the research methodology within the holistic/post-Newtonian paradigm. When we step into the post-Newtonian, holistic paradigm, an entirely different and expanded understanding of ourselves and our reality around is possible (cf. Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2013; 2016). Scholars have come up with the concept of 'the culture of consciousness' to convey the image of what starts to emerge in our social life once we change our paradigmatic reference platform (Walach, 2015 a; 2015 b). The culture of consciousness, in the holistic paradigm, starts to replace the darwinism and cognicentrism of the Newtonian, materialistic life plane. In order to propose such a change of the reference platform and start teaching it – scholars need to consider the conceptual-terminological plane they will use. Towards this thought pathway is the present text heading. We point to an alternative conceptual-terminological departure point, namely to the 'eco' proposals in the Western science. What we put to debate here is that the ecological discourse in the research and the ecological thinking may work better in theory building and applications than the 'spiritual' conceptual-terminological framework or the discourse of theoretical physics used today in the philosophy of science and in the research within the holistic paradigm (Walach, 2005 a, 2005 b; Walach and Römer, 2011; Schmidt and Walach, 2014).

2. Collective (non)consciousness, individual mind and collective mind (culture)

The human mind in the cognitivist paradigm of the mainstream science today, taken as both the individual mental representation of reality (i.e. the mind of an individual person) and as the collective mental representation (i.e. culture), has developed not for creative/innovative behaviour but for the conservative behaviour. Professor of biology and physics A. Wróbel says that the main part of the incoming sensory information is used by the neuronal net in the automatized processes of recognition or is skipped out altogether in the preliminary selection process. Human perceptions represent a subjective derivative of the objective reality; this subjective picture is conditioned by the imperative to survive, not by inner constructing of the 'true' (objective) picture of this reality (cf. Wróbel, 2014). Hence, the primary task of the human brain (in cognitivism often regarded as a physiological basis of the abstract mental representation) is to react dynamically to what presents itself and protect the organism (cf. ibid.). Complex scrutiny of the situation is left to be done in the further organismic processing. The mind/brain is primarily focused on allowing relatively quick action/reaction.

Self-preservation of the individual or the collective self is in this meta-mechanism based on recursion and the presumption of the re-emergence of patterns in life processes endogenically and exogenically. What it means in simple terms is that the complex structure and processes of the mind (again: we talk about both the individual and the collective minds) have been developed evolutionarily:

(i)   to receive neurocognitively the incoming data about life phenomena;

(ii) to filter the incoming wealth of data through a number of natural filters (i.e. neurobiological systems like the sensory systems, the filter of the human language, the filter of the older mental data already stored in the mental representation, to mention but these);

(iii) to absorb the selected data into the already existing mental data. This requires a continual process of re-structuring the mental representation.

(iv) As a result, to produce a very complex, dynamic and nonlinear mental filter to navigate a person's or a community's behavioural life.

This quick look at the anatomy and function of the human mental representation, through the lens of the classical computational model of the mind, allows us to notice that:

a. so many filters are active in the process of the data intake that the intake itself is very individualised and mind-specific;

b. new data get selected, filtered and then get internalised into the mental representation under fixed, determined conditions of the already existing mental texture of the receiver's mind;

c. in consequence, all the work of the (individual or collective) mental representation is based on re-creative processes where the network of already internalised data and processes actively decides what will be allowed into the mental structures, how it will get interpreted and used in the future as a filter;

d. this re-organisational mechanism allows novel mental stuff to get through as well; however, the process is very obstructed, proceeds slowly; one can assume that it is not adjusted to the creativity/nonlinearity/chaos/nonlocality of life processes and life systems as such.

So, from this sketchy picture one can infer that the analysis of human cognition will not offer a scholar an insight into how humans co-create in the creative, never repeating itself reality of life on Earth. Cognitive models do not give us opportunity to perceive, understand, study and then teach the complex life machinery which is actually in operation when we are living our lives in the Earth's ecosystem. In the mainstream, cognitivist paradigm of Western culture we do not have good (that is, explanatory and functional) theories and models of how to support and regulate the health of our organisms; we do not have functional models of how to relate to others successfully, how to communicate and move beyond relational conflicts, i.e. communication manipulation; we do not know how to organise a sustainable educational process for younger generations, education which would be harmonious, cooperative and bring stable learning effects. If we want to grasp with our intellect the inner structure and function of life processes and life systems which are open systems (a human being is an open system as well, cf. Walleczek, 2000), we need to seriously consider expanding our paradigmatic perspective and moving beyond the cognitivist paradigm towards the holistic/post-Newtonian paradigm (cf. diagram 1 below). The former can be described as materialistic, atomistic and deterministic, with the focus on closed systems; while the latter is characterised as unifying, probabilistic, open and nonlinear; this paradigm embraces chaotic systems which are

emergent in their nature. Walleczek (2000:16) writes about nonlinear phenomena and their common occurrence in life processes; these interactions are today studied by mechanics, hydrodynamics, electronics, nonlinear optics, acoustics, biochemistry or biodynamic models in the medical sciences, or other.
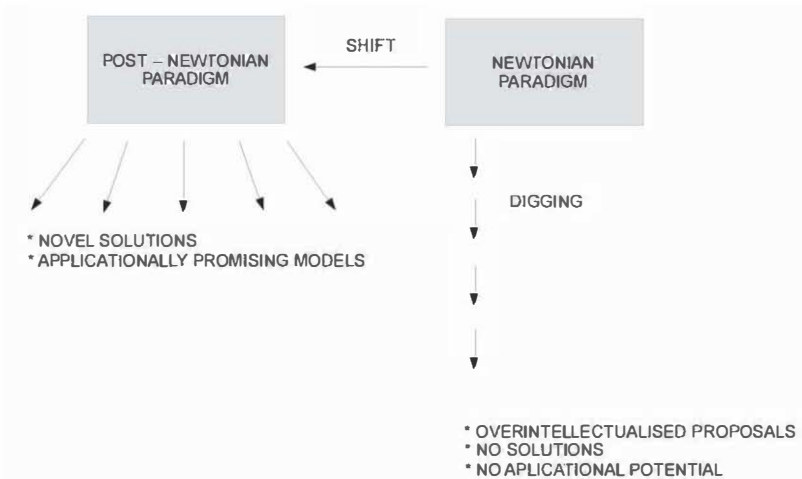
Diagram 1. A paradigmatic shift in modern Western sciences (Bogusławska-Tafelska, forthcoming, 2018).

In the subsequent section we present a brief characterisation of both paradigms as possible reference planes in science and in non-scientific domains of life.

3. The Newtonian paradigm

A paradigm is a coherent world view (cf. Patton, 2002: 71). It is defined as 'a patterned set of assumptions concerning reality (ontology), knowledge of that reality (epistemology), and the particular ways of knowing that reality (methodology) (cit. Guba in Sale, et al., 2002: 44; cf. Cibangu, 2010). The term was introduced into the philosophy of science by Thomas Kuhn (1970). Paradigms are underlying research methodologies of the scientific research, they are the basis on which the styles of thinking emerge (cf. Fleck, 2007 a, 2007 b, 2007 c), and they start particular modes of reasoning, comprehending, and/or mediating reality (cit. Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2013: 30).

In classical thinking, used in the Newtonian paradigm, the reality we live in has the subsequent internal nature:

1. its structure is materialistic and atomistic (i.e. constructed out of separate elements such as atoms, molecules, physical parts);
2. deterministic (we can predict their behaviour using proper algorithms and linear, cause-effect thinking);
3. dualistic (our world is composed out of two types of substance: the mental substance, and the tangible, detectable by the senses material substance); the material structure can be scrutinized scientifically; mental substance, if ever, can be hypothesized about by philosophers;
4. reductionist in the sense of thinking and research heuristics having it that complex systems are analyzable through the process of breaking them down to simple constituent elements (cf. ibid.),
5. local, in the sense of all material objects being related to each other by means of material signals within the framework of the speed of light (cf. ibid.),
6. binary logic (Walach and von Stillfried, 2011: 190) according to which only one solution or description of a phenomenon is correct, the other options must be wrong.

4. The holistic paradigm

The holistic paradigm, to which we also refer in our publications as the post-Newtonian paradigm, has the following delineating characteristics:

a. **entanglement** is the basic ontology of reality we live in, with another class of relations between objects named **non-local relations**; there are effects but no classical cause; as H. Walach writes: 'entanglement refers to the correlated behaviour of elements of a system without interchange of energy or matter (...)' (2005: 554);
b. hence, there is **complementarity** between global and local variables; there are two planes of analysis, the material and quantum; though mutually exclusive, both are necessary to describe the totality of the system; while on the material, Newtonian plane there may be an illusion of separateness, binary oppositions, objectiveness, etc. In the underlying, micro-plane of life processes the post-Newtonian models describe the interconnected reality in which the paradox of unity and individuality is realized;

c. **holism/unity** of all life processes, indeterminism and an energy-based nature of the world, with matter being some form of condensed, slowed down, or 'frozen' energy; living systems lose their rigid boundaries, being analysed in context of other living systems; the connection between them is maintained yet there may be no physical cause for it;

d. the intracellular mechanisms (i.e. R. Penrose talks about the cell's microtubules, cf. Penrose, 1995) seem the best candidate to be **the meeting ground** of matter and the non-material reality of the field of consciousness/primary substance of all-that-is; this meeting point allows the human system (body and self) to be linked to the pulsating, **multidimensional grid of all life processes**, again both material and non-material; in the post-Newtonian model of reality the mind-body dilemma is addressed again (Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2013; 2015).

One can ask at this point, why we opt for a shift of a paradigm – why shall we replace one framework and one style of thinking for another? The basic reasons are twofold:

1. in our everyday lives and in the mainstream scientific work we have been experiencing a growing uneasiness while having to cope with 'anomalies' from the models what are supposed to explain life phenomena but turn out to be leaving much outside their scope. The Newtonian paradigm is tight and Western people have been experiencing this restriction for some time now; often this is experienced as some form of a crisis – inner/personal, social or collective; it was T. Kuhn who noticed this mechanism (cf. Chemero, 2009: 14; Bogusławska-Tafelska, forthcoming);

2. actually, the post-Newtonian paradigm we opt for here – offers an expansion, not an alternative. In other words, the holistic perspective embraces the material, Newtonian reality and adds a complementary non-material reality to the model of reality. What is more, the holistic paradigm proposes both realms - the material realm and the non-material realm of life - the co-primary status in the scheme of systems (Walach, 2005 a; 2015 a, b).

5. Functional and ideologically unbiased 'ecological' metaphor at the basis on 'the ecological' discourse and 'ecological' thinking in humanistic, social and life sciences

There are scholars who already work to adopt the holistic paradigm, consider its theoretical potential, and test the limits of the scientific method when applied to nonlocal and multidimensional living systems. There are academic courses which offer insight into these new proposals. Scholars have been testing the three conceptual – terminological fields with respect to their general usefulness in the research and academic teaching:

1. there are scholars who orient their research towards modern physics – use the concepts and terms from quantum physics, quantum theory and the related fields of present-day physics (cf. Jibu and Yasue, 1995; Vitiello, 2001; Plotnitsky, 2004; Walach and von Stillfried, 2011; Kitto et al. 2011);

2. there are scholars who have been adopting the 'spiritual' conceptual-terminological framework to study phenomena in the holistic perspective (cf. Walach, Schmidt and Jonas, 2011; Walach 2015a; 2015 b);

3. and there is an 'ecological' pathway in the modern scientific research across disciplines, which seems especially potent theoretically and applicationally (i.e. in the educational domain), because it does not carry with itself a heavy historiosophical and ideological bias (cf. Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2013; 2016).

Below, we will present the 'eco' road in sciences on the example of ecolinguistics - the interdisciplinary and applicationally promising paradigm within modern language and communication studies.

5.1 Ecolinguistics as new linguistics within the holistic paradigm

Human language is not only a system of forms and bodily or cognitive processes. This mainstream linguistic stance gets expanded by the ecolinguistic meta-theory, in which human language belongs to the category of life processes.

The conceptualisation of human language as a living organism, the idea which paved the way for treating language as a part of an ecosystem, was proposed by the German linguist August Schleicher (Drogosz, 2010: 64). The metaphor of the ecology of language and the language ecosystem were introduced into linguistics by the Norwegian-American linguist Einar

Haugen in the 1970s. Since Haugenian first publications, the ecology of language as a scholarly program split into several more or less connected linguistic pathways.

Today, ecolinguistics as being proposed in our research, re-defines several basic parameters of human language, i.e.:

1. the deeply underlying philosophical position is different, as ecolinguistics proposes a change of the paradigmatic plane to think about and study human language/communication. The ecological meta-theory of language shifts thinking and research procedures from the Newtonian, materialistic - deterministic - atomistic paradigm, to the post-Newtonian holistic paradigm.

2. The context within which scholars study human language is extended as well; ecolinguistics locates human language being a life process within the reality which is a multilayer grid of material-nonmaterial pulsation. This pulsation happens on the axis: potentiality – realisation.

3. So, the human language can be regarded and studied on a number of levels of analysis. These levels fall into two main categories: the levels of analysis which require classical thinking, as they reside within the Newtonian paradigm. And, the layers of analysis which require non-classical thinking as they are located in the post-Newtonian paradigm. The levels of analysis where classical thinking can be applied: formal linguistics, descriptive linguistics, cognitive linguistics, neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis.

The levels of analysis of human language which require non-classical thinking: ecolinguistics defined as the linguistic meta theory within the holistic paradigm (Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2013; 2016), biosemiotics, where the meaning-making processes are intervened with communication processes and biological functions of the living system (cf. Goli, 2016).

Furthermore, the ecolinguistic meta theory investigates communication phenomena on several planes of analysis:

1. interpersonal and group/mass communication, the primary goal of which is to get the intended message across to the individual or collective interlocutor;

2. fundamentally non-cognitive, organic communication on the level of intracellular, cellular and lager-system organismic communication, the chief aim of which is to build communities of cooperating units and together adapt the system to the larger-level life system;

3. communication at the very basic, supposedly at the intracellular level, which connects the world of matter with the world of non-matter (here we use a handy metaphor to characterise the process, namely that of communication happening 'at the seam of life' cf. Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2016).

6. Concluding remarks: the ecological paradigmatic framework to help to install 'the culture of consciousness'

In this chapter, we look at the upcoming holistic paradigm in the Western science and collective consciousness, with the main focus placed on the ecological framework of handy concepts and linguistic terms adjusted to them, as the functional referential platform to teach and promote 21st century holism. At this point, this is a theoretical consideration. We have done the pilot study to check the present reaction of Polish university students towards accessible today conceptual-terminological sets to teach the holistic paradigm, towards building the culture of consciousness. The results the study brought and the discussion are presented elsewhere (Bogusławska-Tafelska, forthcoming). The present chapter introduces the very topic and directs one's attention to the importance of a well-chosen terminological and conceptual package in which the holistic paradigm is to be proposed by educators and scientists to students, scholars and the general receiver. Currently, in the Western world we observe a paradigmatic shift in the domain of sciences as well as in the collective consciousness of Western societies (cf. Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2013; 2016). However slow the very process is, we do notice the upcoming change.

We also notice the importance to consider not only *what* we as scholars and educators are to teach to our students, but also *how* we shall formulate and present the content to be taught. The 'ecological' metaphor seems especially useful in this respect as it remains relatively fresh and without the unnecessary load of ideologies or denominational aspects attached to it. In the discipline of linguistics, ecolinguistics has been proposed to do exactly this: to introduce modern holism into the studies on human language and communication.

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PERCEPTION OF HARMONY AS A KEY ELEMENT IN INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION: POLISH AND CHINESE POINT OF VIEW

KATARZYNA MAZUR-KAJTA

Abstract

Within the perspective of intercultural dialogue, there is constant need to interrogate and to redefine mutual ground of understanding, by plotting dimensions of possible divergences even within semantic areas that at first blush seem deprived of polysemy. In this chapter an attempt is made to approach the ecology of intercultural communication through the pragmatic analysis of the concept of 'harmony' respectively in Polish and Chinese cultural environments. The focus of the analytical thrust is twofold. On the one hand, the study aims to point to the importance of harmony in communication with representatives of the People's Republic of China and on the other, to raise awareness of the differences and similarities in the attitudes of the people of the Republic of Poland and those of the people of the PRC. This is done through excerpting lexical contexts of harmony and regrouping them into larger pragmatic categories for both cultures, as well by plotting Polish stereotypes regarding the Chinese view. The final part is devoted to reporting a survey conducted among students of Opole Technical University in 2017. The results show that among the Polish young adults (the cohort of respondents) harmony is perceived mainly as balance and order. This is different from the connotations of traditional Chinese concept, which combines harmony with the complement of adversity.

Key terms: harmony, interpersonal communication, social communication, Poland, China

1. Introduction

Poland and China are some 7 000 kilometers apart. In spite of this distance, and the widespread perception of the substantial cultural differences, there are nevertheless some important similarities between them. By comparing the six dimensions of culture as proposed by Geert Hofstede (e.g. 1984, 2000) for example, it can be seen that half of these dimensions are characterized by similar indicators shared between the two countries (cf. Compare countries, Hofstede Insights):

- *masculinity*-focus on success versus dedication to other areas of life (indicators: Poland–64, China–66).
- *restraint* – the degree of control over one's own desires and the approach to the pursuit of joy of life, the tendency towards cynicism and pessimism, less importance given to free time and control over the fulfillment of one's own desires (Poland – 29, China–24).
- *power distance* – the acceptance of the established social hierarchy and one's own place in it (Poland–68, China–80).

However, differences are noted among other indices (cf. Compare countries, Hofstede Insights):

- *individualism / collectivism* – different treatment of members of one's own group and people outside of it. In China to a greater degree than in Poland, relationships [关系[1]], are considered as significant and people from one's own group are more often treated preferentially (Poland–60, China–20).
- *uncertainty avoidance* reflected in caring about what might happen in the future, e.g. in the approach to obeying laws and regulations. In China, this approach is much more flexible and pragmatic than in Poland (Poland–93, China–30).
- *short-term/long-term orientation* in adapting traditions to changing conditions, in the degree of developed of the need for saving and investing, and the expectations of immediate/deferred results (Poland–38, China–87).

The greater the number of similarities or the smaller the number of differences between the cultures of two countries indicates that a cultural

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[1] All translations in the text are mine - K.M.-K.

clash is less likely and the degree of agreement between representatives of both countries is likely to be higher. In the following paper, the author investigates the cultural component of *harmony* as a fundamental value in interpersonal communication. The purpose of this study is to illustrate the importance of *harmony* in communication with representatives of the People's Republic of China and to raise awareness of the differences and similarities in the attitudes of the people of the Republic of Poland and those of the people of the PRC.

2. Defining harmony

2.1. Harmony – the Polish point of view

The word *harmony* comes from Greek [αρμονία] originally denoting the *compatibility of sounds and shapes*.[2] In the European context, this concept exists in many fields of the arts and sciences, including: philosophy, theology, music, linguistics, mathematics, fine arts, pedagogy and economics.

Despite the lack of a generally accepted symbol of *harmony* in European culture (apart from the little-known Greek myth about the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite–Harmony [αρμονία]), it could be represented as a scale with a delicate frame (combining symbolism for justice, deftness of form and symmetry of shape). One side of the scale would be white and the other black (a partial negative symbolizes the mutual complement of opposites-component colors) while dividing the space into two equal parts, comprised of two objects of identical size, weight and shape (see Figure 1).

The dictionaries of synonyms, available in Polish, show a number of synonyms for the word *harmony*, referring to: *symmetry and proper proportions, balance and conformity, complementation and cooperation, friendly relations, the emergence of truth, order, aesthetic sense, and musical instruments, melodies*, etc. Synonyms of the noun *harmony* and verb *harmonize* are presented in Table 1.

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[2] The issue of *harmony* in the European perspective is more broadly explored in: Mazur-Kajta [fortcomming].

Figure 1. The suggested symbol of *harmony* in the classic European perspective. Own elaboration.

Table 1. Synonyms of the noun *harmony* and the verb to *harmonize* in the Polish language. Own elaboration on the basis: Gajewska, Pawlus (2003: 72); Synonimy.pl. https://www.synonimy.pl/synonim/harmonia/; Synonim.net. https://synonim.net/synonim/harmonia.

Harmony
harmoniousness
consensus, unanimity, compromise, peace, tolerance
congruency
closeness, togetherness, solidarity, community, congruency
symmetry, geometry, balance, shape, fluidity, regularity, proportionality, neatness
order, unity, harmonization, universal consensus, conformity, unification, concordance, timidity, alignment, compatibility, coordination, synchronization
covenant, agreement, cohesion
consonance
accordion
chord, melody
To harmonize
to affirm, to overlap, to be true
to correspond, to harmonize, to resonate
coordinate, correlate, synchronize, reconcile, unify, create uniformity, normalize
unite, consolidate, reconcile, integrate
cooperate, act, co-create, ally, coexist
standardize, fix, codify, unify
coordinate, conventionalize

The terms mentioned above have an exceptionally wide range of usage both in terms of meaning, as well as in terms of time. They refer to the notion of *harmony* in both the past and the present. When studying materials provided by the media, the term *harmony* seems to be contemporarily used by Poles (in 2017) most often in abstract terms, in contexts related to:

1. **Natural environment** – humans' *harmony* with nature or *harmony* of the world designed by nature/ the Creator;
   In this sense, man is often seen as a creature, who experiences a need for connection with other living organisms. The human being, as one of the elements of nature, which in the most intense way exploits, transforms and often destroys it, can achieve *harmony* mainly through association with nature and respect towards it. Humans' harmony with nature is indispensable for the homo sapiens species to function properly, while also maintaining good health and happiness. In the second sense – the harmonious world of nature – the essence of the balance among the various environments inhabited by numerous species of plants and animals is stressed. Upsetting this balance in the short term harms a specific species, while in the long term it can harm virtually all forms of life.In turn, the *harmony* between the Creator and the created world of nature can be seen in Polish carols and pastorals. (cf. Łobos, 2001: 36)
2. **Work environment** – *harmony* between family and work life. In this sense, *harmony* is defined as a balance between work and private life. The work environment is linked to the social space and social policy, and in the organizational space it is shaped by policies set by a company's human resources department.
   One of the tasks identified above is the recognition of factors that can impact the harmonious relationship between the two spheres of life of people living in Poland/employees of a company and the creation of solutions enabling them to achieve a sense of self-fulfillment outside work. In most cases this applies to those groups suffering discrimination in the workplace: e.g. people working professionally who care for the elderly or disabled – mainly women as well as the disabled and juveniles.
3. **The internal environment of the individual** – *harmony* of soul and mind and human health. In this sense, achieving *harmony* between the body, the mind and the soul refers to the equal involvement of strength/energy in one's own physical, mental and

spiritual development. Each of these dimensions affects the other, and an imbalance between them can threaten the comfort of one's life – health, self-fulfillment, and "peace of mind" – in terms of one's total needs. This is also reflected in the definitions of health. For example, the World Health Organization defines *health* as "a state of complete, physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (Jakab 2011). Similarly, all cells/organs function in *harmony* with other cells/ organs comprising the organism (Bielski, Blada, 2014: 10).

4. **The environment of human life** – *harmony* in the place of residence/city/region. For example, the promotion for strategy for Opole for the next five years (the period of 2017-2022) states (*Strategia promocji marki Opole na lata 2017-2022.* Projekt dokumentu strategicznego. 2016: 18, 24.)

   – *The harmony of the city* is reflected in the "proximity" to the city.
   – *Harmony* is: organizational efficiency, proximity of relationships, intimate nature, intelligent solutions, optimal character and sustainable development.
   – Apart from the tradition of the National Festival of Polish Song, *harmony* is an important feature of Opole in comparison to other Polish cities.
   – The dynamic and *harmonious* character of the city is reflected in the city's rhythm.
   – The city is peaceful and harmonious.
   – In addition, harmonious landscapes/*harmony* of space foster (Wolski, 2011: 15-16):
   – *social harmony* – "anchoring" – the sense of identity (equivalent to the German term "Heimat"),
   – competitiveness.

However, research shows that *harmony* in the Polish context is also associated with a sense of *peace* and *happiness*. According to Maria Ossowska, *harmony* is one of the stereotypical causes of *happiness* (Ossowska, 2002: 41-42). Similarly, the analysis provided by Tatiana Kanas on the issue of the *happiness* of Poles shows that *harmony* (and *peace*) is often associated with *happiness* (Kanas, 2015: 122). Research conducted in 2010 by the Public Opinion Research Center (Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej) also shows that the category of *harmony* is linked to family relationships, where 8% of respondents share *family*

happiness, understanding and mutual support. (Cele i dążenia życiowe Polaków, 2010: 5).

In turn, in a study on the cultural practices of Poles, 6.6% of respondents declared that *harmony* (researchers link this with the category of *peace*) is one of the 10 most important values in their lives. The reported importance of *harmony* increased with the age of the respondents and was mainly cited by respondents who were residents of large cities and were well educated. (Fatyga, 2014: 45 -47).

2.2. Harmony – the Chinese point of view

The Chinese term for *harmony* [和/ 和谐][3] was formed independently from the Greek term. The term *Taiji* (in Europe known as *yin-yang*) has become a generally accepted symbol for *harmony* (Figure 2)
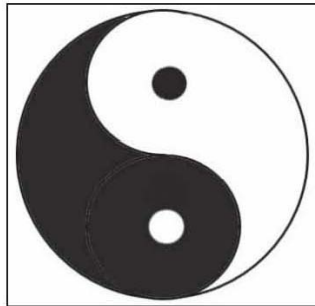
Figure. 2. Symbol of *harmony* in the classical Chinese perspective. Own elaboration.

Poles associate Chinese *harmony* with the following elements:

1. ***Fengshui* [风水]**
   This is a science and art that combines elements of ecology, geodesy, space, astrology, etc., traditionally associated with a way of life and interpreted by Westerners as geomancy. *Fengshui* can be defined as a force that influences life and its quality – bringing

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[3] In the following article, the author uses simplified Chinese characters. When not simplified, the sign "和谐" in the unspecified form takes the form "和諧". However, when using a phonetic transcription, the author relies on Hanyu Pinyin transcription. For more information about the signs 和 and 谐, see: Mazur-Kajta [fortcomming].

about success in various aspects of life. Positive influence is where the harmony is – the balance between the *yin* [阴] and *yang* [阳] – where *energy/breath of life/ aura/vitality* **q**i [气] can move freely. The rules of *fengshui* are based on common sense, intuition, and a set of principles imposed on top of each other (e.g. hanging *ba-q*ua [八卦] mirrors to neutralize negative energy). Fengshui signifies life-in-harmony and is sometimes called upon for dedicating territory (for the construction of buildings, parks, and even burial sites), and in Poland, mainly linked with architecture and interior design.

The main principle in *fengshui* is to maintain *harmony* between the world created by man and the world created by nature.

2. Chinese natural medicine [中医学]

Mankind is perceived as a microcosm or a miniature of the universe and is created (like the universe itself) based on the five basic elements: water, wood, fire, earth and metal, which were made out of ever-changing *yin* and *yang*. If these five elements are unbalanced they affect the functioning of the human body, foster disharmony or discord in the human body, and can consequently cause disease. Chinese natural medicine aims to restore the proper proportion of the five basic elements through the following treatment methods: acupuncture, moxotherapy, **q**igong [气功] respiratory therapy, healing massage with acupressure (e.g. pushing, rubbing, holding and hitting), healing gymnastics, bubbling, herbal therapy, etc. The main principle in Chinese medicine is to maintain harmony within the body itself as well as between the body and the surrounding nature.

3. *Taijiquan* [太极拳]

Taijiquan, in Poland commonly called *taiji,* is a combination of Chinese martial arts *wushu* [武术] and meditation gymnastics. This technique involves practicing motion systems by performing slow **q**i energy-gathering moves and then the movements of more violent triggers. Movements are performed smoothly, usually softly and almost like an invisible ball suspended in the air. The circular movements resemble the big *Taiji* **O**neness [太极] filled with black *yin* and white *yang* – (cf. Figure 2). The main rule in *taiji* is to maintain a *harmony* of movements – *harmony* between the body and spirit, which is conducive to the psycho-physical development of man.

In reality, however, *harmony* in China has a much broader and deeper meaning. The associations mentioned above originate from the philosophy described in the *Book of Changes* [易经]. This book outlines the perfect *harmony* of two opposing elements of *yin* and *yang*, which complement each other. *Yin* includes: negation, tranquility, passivity. It is internal, concave, dark and cold. *Yang* is described as: positive, active, stimulating, external, convex, bright and warm. They are constantly transformed and replenished by creative power, while the *harmonic* distortion is a destructive force. These assumptions were the foundation of two key philosophical and religious trends: Taoism and Confucianism, both of which view *harmony* as their central element.

Taoism considers *harmony* in the metaphysical sense. It assumes that the fundamental aspect is *dao* [道] – "the way of nature". *Dao* is the beginning of *taiji*, from which *yin* and *yang* arise, therefore everything in the universe arises from it as well [„道生一，一生二，二生三，三生万物。万物负阴而抱阳，冲气以为和"].[4] Following *dao* allows the achievement of *harmony* – fullness. When it is not followed disharmony occurs – great misfortune[„天下有道，却走马以粪。天下无道，戎马生于郊。祸莫大于不知足；咎莫大于欲得。故知足知足，常足矣。"][5]. Adaptation here means non-action contrary to nature, defined as the principle of *wuwei* [无为]. By acting against nature (striving for excess), man violates natural *harmony* – the balance between *yin* and *yang*, causing harm to oneself and others [„五色令人目盲：五音令人耳聋；五味令人口爽；驰骋畋猎；令人心发狂；难得之货，令人行妨"][6].By natural inner *harmony* (to which the individual aspires), interpersonal relationships can be harmonized, which is schematized in Figure 3.

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[4] Translated as: "*Dao* creates *Oneness*, *Oneness* creates *duality*, *duality* creates *trebleness*, and *trebleness* creates everything in the world [ten thousand things]. All creatures carry *ying* and embrace *yang*, by combining them they draw strength" (Lao Tse, 2009: 94 95).

[5] Translated as: "When the world is following Tao, there is moderation, and the horses mourn the ground. When the world does not follow Tao, horses are raised on the outskirts of the city. There is no greater misery than lack of moderation. There is no greater guilt than desire. Only those who know moderation are always satisfied" (Lao Tse, 2009: 102 103).

[6] Translated as: From excess of [five] colors one loses sight: from excess of [five] voices one stop hearing; from excess of [five] flavors one loses taste on the palate; From galloping and hunting one can easily go crazy; Items that are difficult to get do harm. (Lao Tse, 2009: 34 35).
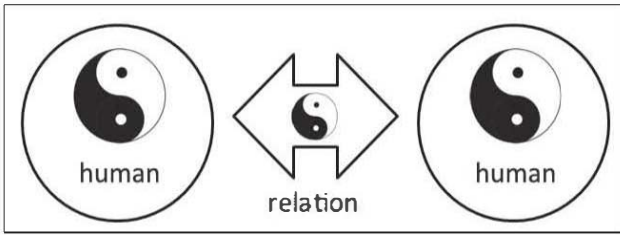
Figure 3. Internal *harmony* influencing harmonious interpersonal/group relationships. Own elaboration.

Confucianism considers *harmony* from the point of view of ethics and morality (Burns [2004] 2006: 165). It combines *harmony* with the human being (emphasizing the qualities of *ren* [仁] – humanity and benevolence towards others; *yi* [义] – justice, fair and moral conduct; *zhi* [智] – knowledge about what is right and fair; *li* [礼] – liberty, etiquette; *xin* [信] – trust, keeping one's word) and their social relationships. To achieve *harmony* - *dao* – one should follow *li* and music. Man should act "righteously", educate himself to become a noble man, full of virtue and obey the established rules – follow the tradition, with a strictly defined place on the social ladder along with the rights and duties (virtue *de* [德]) assigned to it. In Confucian terms, *harmony* guarantees the existence of family and society, therefore, the state (Banek, 1991: 167-169).

By developing organized *harmonious* relationships between family members (to which close relatives aspire), one can strive for harmonious social relationships – (cf. Figure 4).
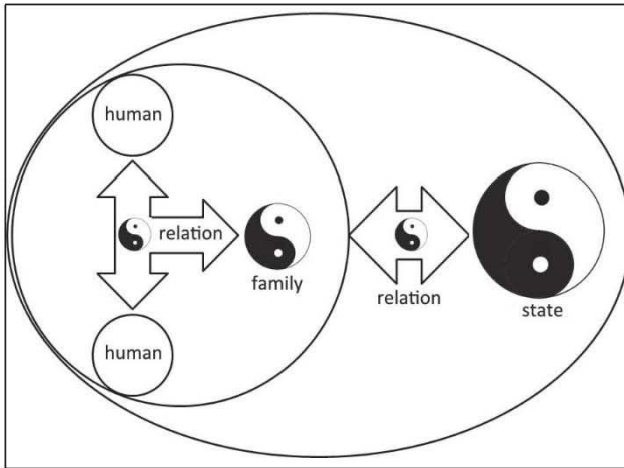
Figure 4. Harmonious relationships between members of a small social group (family) also influence the creation of *harmonious* relationships between family and society. Own elaboration.

A foreigner living in China, who is not familiar with the realities of the country, may have the impression that the word *harmony* is overused – the signs 和谐 decorate posters in China and the number of articles in Chinese containing this word in the title is constantly increasing. For example, during the period between 2003 and 2005 the number of such articles increased from 30 to 6600 (cf. Delury 2008).

The reason for this is the propensity for regularly using the word *harmony* in its various meanings in social, political and economic contexts. The idea of building a *socialist harmonious society* [构建社会主义和谐社会/ 和谐社会] is one of the fundamental elements of the Chinese Communist Party's strategy proposed in 2004. Its ascendance to the center of the Chinese social strategy was influenced by many factors, including the turbulent history of the country and the continuing desire for long-term economic growth and development. The pursuit of a harmonious society is related to the goal of improving the quality of life of the people of the PRC, reducing social inequalities, promoting social stabilization, sustainable economic development and improving the quality of the environment (including investments in green technologies), etc. According to the Chinese government, *a harmonious society* is the society based on the ideology of socialism, which is characterized by: compliance with the law, socialist democracy, solidarity, honesty and justice. The calls

for a harmonious society appear not only in political speeches (at various levels), but are also used in social campaigns – "adorning" the landscape of Chinese cities – (Pictures 1-4 below).
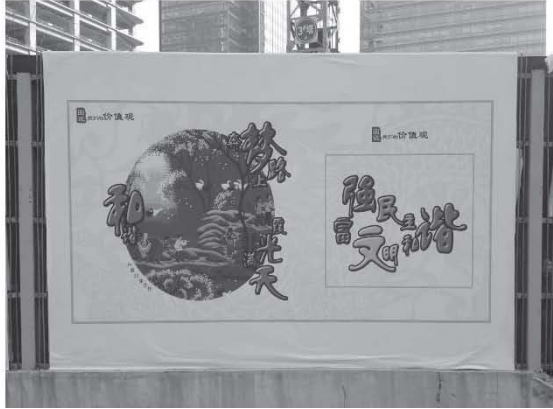
Picture 1. A street poster hanging in Beijing proclaiming "Our values: the prosperity and power of the country, (socialist) democracy, civilization, harmony" [我们的价值观：富强、民主、文明、和谐].
Source: Daria Meier – photo reproduced with the permission of the author.

Picture 2. Street posters hanging in Beijing declaring (left): "The fulfillment of dreams is a blessing. The Chinese people are blessed". [圆梦是福，中华有福], (right): "The Chinese people are blessed. Honesty and trustworthiness is a blessing" which list *hamony* [和谐] as one of the twelve fundamental values of socialist society.

Picture 3. A street poster hanging in Hohot, in Inner Mongolia, PRC, which reads: "The care given to a minor is the care for the future" [关爱未成年人就是关爱未来] and shows *harmony* [和谐] as one of the fundamental values of socialist society.

Picture 4. (In the center) A street poster in Beijing listing *harmony* [和谐] as one of the basic values of socialist society – as a national aspect [社会主义核心价值观，国家层面].

In 2005 the concept of a *harmonious world* [和谐世界] was suggested by President Hu Jintao [胡锦涛] to promote a friendly and peaceful intercultural dialogue and economic prosperity [„推动不同文明友好相处、平等对话、发展繁荣，共同构建一个和谐世界"]. This idea illustrates the Chinese strategy in international relationships, which is based on common security (peaceful relationships), tolerance, interpersonal communication and cooperation based on mutual benefits. These arguments were also raised during discussions pertaining to the New Silk Road Initiative [新丝绸之路] (cf. Mazur-Kajta, 2017).

3. Survey conducted among students of Opole Technical University

A survey was recently conducted among young Polish people to identify the contemporary definition and common understanding of the concept of *harmony* from the Polish perspective and to investigate the differences between the representatives of Poland and the PRC in their understanding of the factors relevant in the process of harmonious communication.

The aim of the study was to find out whether the traditional elements of Chinese culture associated with China's *harmonious* communication are also associated with it in the Polish culture.

The research was conducted from 1st to 31st October 2017 among the students of the Faculty of Economics and Management of the Opole University of Technology. The study included 150 respondents between the ages of 18 and 34 years. It was a qualitative research, used an original study instrument, was non-invasive and was only conducted once.

3.1. Results

Harmony was defined by the respondents primarily as a synonym of *balance* (34% of respondents ranked it as their first choice, 17% as second choice and 11% as third choice). Other associations were related with *order* (17% of respondents ranked it as their first choice, 22% as second choice and 17% as third choice) and *orderliness* (12% of respondents ranked it as their first choice, 16% as second choice and 23% as third choice). The answers also included such categories as: *symmetry, non-conflict, cooperation, complement, aesthetics and justice*. Details are shown in Figures 5-7.
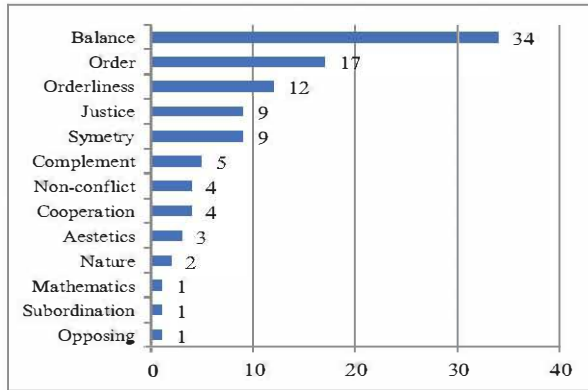
Figure 5. Defining harmony, I choice [%]. Own elaboration.
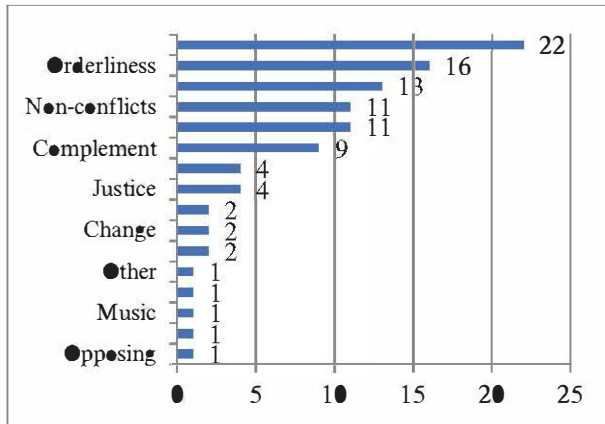
Figure 6. Defining harmony, II choice [%]. Own elaboration.
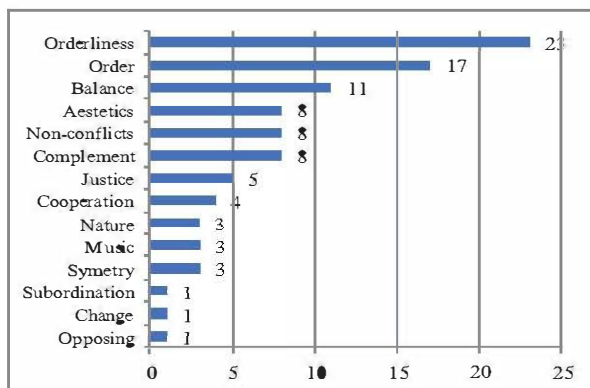
Figure 7. Defining harm●ny, III ch●ice [%]. ●wn elab●rati●n.

All of the respondents recognized the universal (international) symbol of *harmony* in the *yin-yang* symbol. ●ver 51% of the respondents could not associate harmony with any other symbol. The yin-yang symbol was recognized only visually because very few of the respondents could identify typical Chinese characteristics of this sign such as: *completion* (5%) and *contrast* (1%). ●ther proposals of symbols included: *scales* (16%), *landscape* showing birds in the background and a sunset over the sea (5%) and a drawing of *two people* holding hands (4%). The detailed answers are shown in Figure 4. The respondents'association of scales with *harmony* confirmed the link with the balance mentioned at the beginning of this article. Although in the question about clarifying the definition of *harmony,* the category of nature seldom appeared (only 2% of respondents ranked it as their first or second choice, and 3% as third choice), symbols associated with it, such as *landscape, flower, sun and tree* accounted for 13% of responses. The symbolic association of *harmony* with interpersonal relationships/communication was evident only in the figures of *smiling faces* and *people* holding hands – 6% of indications. Nevertheless, the respondents perceive the category of *harmony* as a fundamental value in interpersonal communication (79% of responses) – Figure 8.
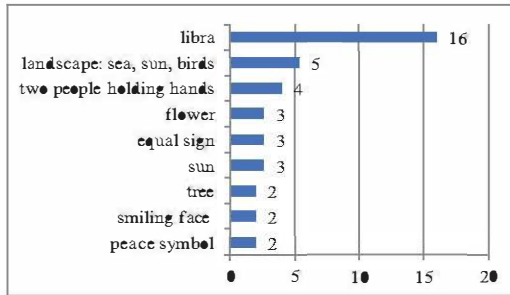
Figure 8. The symbol of harmony [%]. Own elaboration.
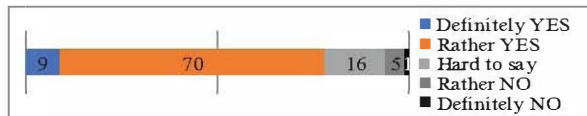
Figure 9. Perception of harmony as a fundamental value in interpersonal communication [%]. Own elaboration.

According to the respondents, harmonious interpersonal relations are fostered by: *courtesy* (93% of answers), establishing *rules* of conduct (88%), hierarchy established in the group – *knowing one's place in society* (86%), *justice* (85%), *respect for the elderly* (83%) and *people with more knowledge and experience* (72%). Detailed respondent data is shown in Figure 10.
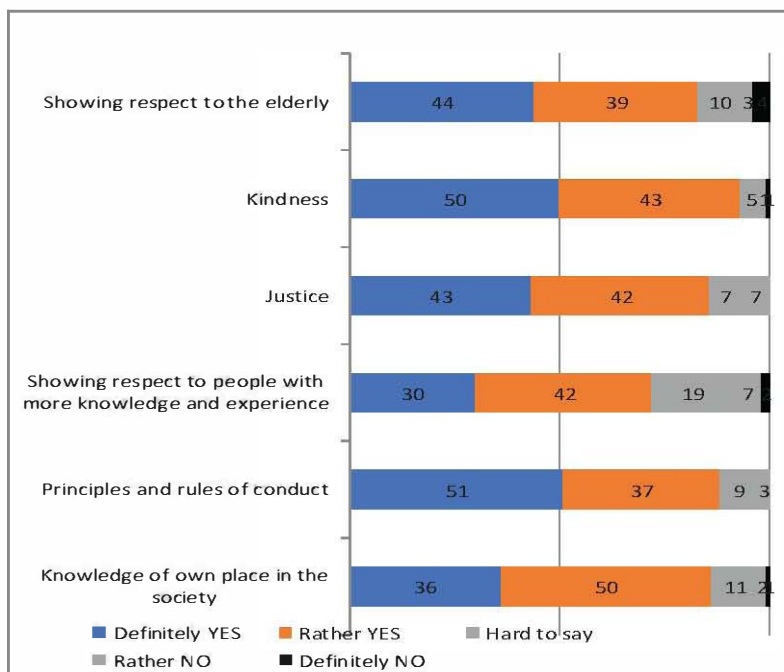
Figure 10. Factors influencing harmonious interpersonal relationships [%]. Own elaboration.

The respondents expressed three types of opinions related to combining *harmony* with truthfulness. 37% of respondents believed that deliberate misinformation should be treated as a factor that precluded the pursuit of harmonious interpersonal relationships. A similar number (35%) had no opinion and 29% did not perceive such a connection – Figure 11. In order to further investigate this phenomenon, the respondents were asked if they considered *harmony* of communication/social relationships to be more important than *truth* (true messages). In this case the difference in responses was more significant. More than half of the respondents (54%) said that *knowing the truth* is more important than achieving *harmony* in human communication – Figure 12.
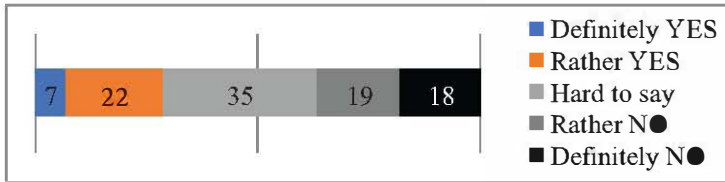
Figure 11. Deliberate misinformation as a factor that does not exclude the pursuit of harmonious interpersonal relationships [%]. Own elaboration.
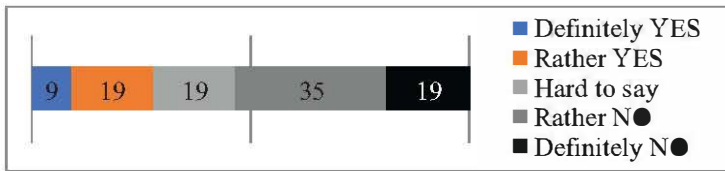
Figure 12. *Harmony* as a value that is more important than truth (truthfulness) in interpersonal relationships [%]. Own elaboration.

According to the respondents the category of *harmony* was not considered valid only for the members of the given social group (in-group members). 47% of respondents believed that *harmony* was important for outsiders (out-group members) – Figure 13.
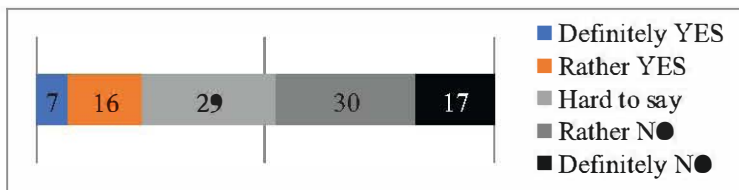
Figure 13. The importance of harmonious relationships refers to people who belong to a given social group [%]. Own elaboration.

The respondents were not able to determine whether the public expression of an opinion that is different from the opinion set by the group to which they belong, is associated with activities that do not promote harmonious human relations. 38% of the respondents said "yes" (*"yes"* and *"rather yes"*) and 22% could not decide (the answer was *"hard to say"*), and 39% had the opposite opinion (Figure 10). Therefore, an

additional question was asked. It referred to whether standing out from the group (either in positive or negative terms) can be treated as a factor that does not favor harmonious human relations. In this case, the difference in responses was more significant. 48% of respondents believed that it was a factor that did not support harmonious relationships, while 28% objected to such a claim – Figure 14.
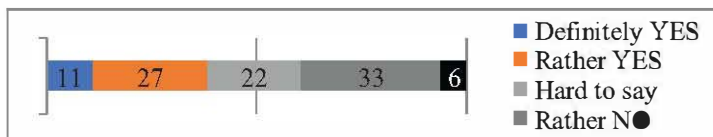
Figure 14. Public expression of own-opinions, different from the opinion set by the group to which one belongs, as a factor preventing harmonious relations between people [%]. Own elaboration.
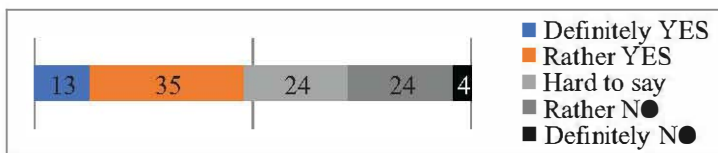
Figure 15. Strong standing out from a group as a factor unfavorable to harmonious interpersonal relations [%]. Own elaboration.

4. Summary

According to both the Chinese and Poles, *harmony* is connected with *nature* and *social relationships*. In the Polish context, *harmony* is mainly represented as a balance between the elements of the natural environment (including human interaction with nature and the need to respect it), human life (reconciling work and family life) and "forming" a human (soul, mind and health). Studies showed that Poles also associated *harmony* with *peace, happiness* and *family relationships*. In contrast, in the Chinese context, *harmony* is mainly correlated with the opposing and complementary elements of *yin* and *yang* and the idea of a harmonious society – a term often used in politics.

Harmony is perceived in the metaphysical sense as the pursuit of "the way of nature" and in the moral and social sense, as self-improvement – the pursuit of being a moral person or a decent citizen, a person capable of fulfilling high expectations set by a group.

The above qualitative research supports the following conclusions:

- By the young generation of Poles (respondents) *harmony* is perceived mainly as balance and order. This is different from the traditional Chinese concept, which combines *harmony* with the *complement of adversity.*
- *Yin* and *yang* symbolizes *harmony* universally.
- Symbols of *harmony* other than *yin-yang* indicate that similarly to the Chinese respondents, these subjects associate *harmony* with *nature* and *social relations.*
- **Harmony is perceived by both the Chinese** (traditional-classical approach) **and Poles as a fundamental value in interpersonal communication.**
- According to both the Chinese and Poles *harmony* is a result of: *politeness*, setting of *rules and principles* of conduct, group *hierarchy, justice, respect for the elderly and persons with more knowledge and experience.*
- Differences in the Polish and Chinese attitudes towards *harmony* are seen in the combination of *harmony* with *truthfulness.* According to Poles, *truthfulness* between people is more important than *harmony* in their relationships. For the Chinese, *harmony* is the most important.
- Differences are also seen in combining standing out from a group with pro-harmonious behavior. Although the public expression of an individual opinion which is different from the group is seen by Poles either as pro-harmonious or as an element closer to disharmony in interpersonal relations, excessive group distinction is not often correlated with activities discouraging *harmony.*
- Differences in Polish and Chinese attitudes towards *harmony* are also seen in combining *harmony* with the particular social group to which one belongs. According to nearly half of Poles surveyed, people from outside the group also pay great attention to *harmony.*
- The above three observations show that from the point of view of harmonious human communication, individualism and collectivism as well as uncertainty avoidance are the most important differences between Polish and Chinese culture.

Understanding the differences and similarities in the interpretation of the concept of *harmony* in both Chinese and Polish culture may affect not only the quality of verbal and nonverbal communication but also help to

identify common ground and encourage the establishment of mutually
beneficial relationships. Recognizing *harmony* as a fundamental element
of Chinese culture may facilitate communication between the
representatives of both cultures and make it more productive.

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Chinese Ecolinguistics
as a New Harmonious Life Paradigm
in the Age of Ecological Crisis

Wenjuan Zhou

Abstract

This chapter presents a proposal of interpreting Chinese ecolinguistics as a new harmonious life paradigm in an age of ecological crisis. It attempts to bring an alternative of harmonious perspective in Chinese ecolinguistics into the discussion of the current paradigmatic shift in the ecolinguistic domain, by illustrating the intrinsic connection between ecological crisis and ecolinguistics in the global context, as well as three stages of ecolinguistics in China. Ecolinguistics in China can be roughly divided into the pre-Haugenian stage, Haugenian stage, and Hallidayan stage. By exploring the harmonious thinking of Chinese ecological wisdom in the tenets of three major Chinese ecolinguists, namely, Li Guozheng, Feng Guangyi, and Huang Guowen, ecological harmony, social harmony, and interpersonal harmony of this new harmonious life approach can be figured out. This harmonious paradigm of Chinese ecolinguistics can help transcend the traditional dualistic and binary thinking in the mainstream linguistics proper. The future horizons of harmonious discourse analysis can be expected to throw light on human beings' hamonious awareness.

Key terms: Chinese ecolinguistics, harmonious paradigm, ecological crisis, Chinese ecological wisdom, harmonious discourse analysis

1. Introduction

This chapter presents a proposal for interpreting Chinese ecolinguistics as a new harmonious life paradigm in the age of ecological crisis. It

attempts to bring the alternative of a harmonious perspective in Chinese ecolinguistics into the discussion of the current paradigmatic shift in the ecolinguistic domain, by illustrating the intrinsic connection between the ecological crisis and ecolinguistics in the global context, as well as three stages of ecolinguistics in China. Ecolinguistics in China can be roughly divided into the pre-Haugenian stage, Haugenian stage, and Hallidayan stage. By exploring the harmonious thinking of Chinese ecological wisdom in the tenets of three major Chinese ecolinguists, namely, Li Guozheng, Feng Guangyi, and Huang Guowen, the ecological harmony, social harmony, and interpersonal harmony of this new harmonious life approach can be worked out. This harmonious paradigm of Chinese ecolinguistics can help transcend the traditional dualistic and binary thinking in mainstream linguistics proper. The future horizons of harmonious discourse analysis can be expected to throw light on human beings' harmonious awareness.

In this chapter, I propose Chinese ecolinguistics as a new harmonious life paradigm in the age of ecological crisis, as a positive response to Bogusławska-Tafelska's basic ecolinguistic tenets of viewing ecolinguistics as formatting a communicative life process (Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2013; 2015; 2016; 2017; Zhou, 2018). First and foremost, what is a harmonious life paradigm? What do 'harmonious', 'life', and 'paradigm' mean respectively?

By 'harmonious', I mean the Chinese philosophy of ecological harmony that a new harmonious life paradigm can draw on, namely, Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. [1] Each of these philosophies embodies specific concepts of ecological wisdom. It is accepted that British ecolinguist Arran Stibbe's interpretation of 'life' fits into this ecolinguistic context, in his words, the 'eco' of the form of ecolinguistics represents (Stibbe, 2015: 9): "the life-sustaining relationships of humans with other humans, other organisms and the physical environment, with a normative orientation towards protecting the systems that humans and other forms of life depend on for their well-being and survival". Given

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[1] It should be noted that this harmonious life paradigm, as discussed with Bogusławska-Tafelska in a personal communication (Oct 26, 2017), taps into the philosophical aspects of Chinese harmony and is expected to offer an alternative perspective for the future development of ecolinguistics on its own. Instead of implementing the religious/denominational aspects of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, I, as a Chinese ecolinguist adhering to the harmonious thinking in the paradigm of Chinese ecolinguistics, propose in the ecolinguistic methodology and discourse to go beyond any mentorship tone, which may not only imply binary standpoints and perspectives, but also direct us back to the dualistic paradigm which we are leaving.

that, by 'life', I mean an ecolinguistic outlook or vision of viewing language/discourse/communication and all the living forms on the earth as a harmonious whole of unity, diversity, and connectivity. This vision is largely drawn from the harmonious thinking found in Chinese ecolinguistics, which is quite different from the binary or dualistic and linear thinking at the centre of the Newtonian and Saussurean paradigms (Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2016; Zhou, 2017; Zhou and Huang, 2017). By 'paradigm',[2] I mean fundamental assumptions and approaches/models that can be flexible and adaptable to current mainstream linguistics, based on ecologically harmonious thinking grounded in the Confucian, Daoist and Buddhist philosophies implied in Chinese ecolinguistics.

Accordingly, this new harmonious life paradigm can be further divided into the following three sub-terms as discussed in detail below, namely, Chinese harmony, a harmonious approach, and harmonious discourse analysis. All the above working definitions are based on the following two premises: the relationship between the ecological crisis and ecolinguistics in the global context, and the alternative perspective of Eastern philosophy in recent ecolinguistic scholarship.

1.1 Ecological crisis and ecolinguistics

The first premise that a new harmonious life paradigm can rest on is the ecological crisis as a crisis of trilemma, that is, a crisis of perception, reason, and behaviour. The ecological crisis has long been regarded as a crisis of perception. As the well-recognized American physicist Fritjof Capra claims in his influential book *The Web of Life* (1997), modern people tend to deal with environmental concerns in an unconnected and one-sided manner. What is even worse, as Val Plumwood (2001) argues, the monological and dualistic thinking from the age of reason onwards has ignored the co-existence of humans, nature, and other ecological beings in the environmental culture, thus contributing to what she calls an 'ecological crisis of reason'. Such a crisis of perception and reason may have contributed to what Matthew Adams (2016) calls an 'anthropogenic ecological crisis' in the Anthropocene age, where he calls for behavioural changes to respond to the ecological crisis.

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[2] In fact, there is a heated debate on the notions of 'paradigm' and 'perspective' among European ecolinguistic circles (see Finke, 2014; and Cowley, 2016). In this chapter, I accept the notion of 'paradigmatic shift' (Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2016), employing 'paradigm' in a general sense and using 'paradigm' and 'perspective' interchangeably in this chapter.

On that account, an increasing number of ecolinguists have been striving for alternative ways of dealing with ecological issues within the linguistics domain. Wilhelm Trampe is a pioneering figure in this regard. He manages to build up the connection between linguistic practice and the ecological crisis by analysing agricultural vocabulary, as he confirms that "linguistics based firmly on the interrelationships between humans and the environment, as expressed through language and communication, will create insights which will above all show languages as life forms" (Trampe, 2011: 232). Sune Steffensen and Alwin Fill offer similar concerns in their well-cited paper "Ecolinguistics: the state of art and future horizons":

Hitherto, most ecologically minded linguists have conceived the discursive and linguistic dimensions of the ecological crisis in terms of a nature-culture dichotomy. One lesson learnt from this state of the art is that we do in fact need a reconceptualization of environmental issues in general and the nature-culture dichotomy in particular (Steffensen and Fill, 2014: 21).

Zhou (2017) argues that only dialogue that links science, aesthetics, and axiology[3] can solve the ecological crisis' moral concerns, and then she holds that a Confucian-Daoist inquiry of Chinese ecological discourse (Zhou and Huang, 2017) can offer an alternative for coping with the Cartesian model of dualistic thinking in the Western counterpart, which may exert a positive influence on linguistic problems in the ecological crisis.

1.2 The alternative perspective of Eastern philosophy

There is an increasing consensus among international ecolinguists that Eastern philosophy can integrate into the current ecolinguistic research. To take a dialogical approach to this field as an example, Steffensen (2007) illustrates the resemblance between holism in the construction of a dialectical approach to ecolinguistics, with the central tenet of co-existence in Buddhism, Hinduism and Taoism (Steffensen, 2007: 16). Bang and

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[3] Although axiology is understood as being based on subjective evaluations and evaluative definitions, which may locate us back in the Newtonian, binary, opposition-based paradigm, as argued with Bogusławska-Tafelska in a personal communication (Dec 20, 2017), Chinese harmonious thinking, in an axiological sense, is essentially non-Newtonian, non-binary, and harmony-based (see Li, 2014 for a further account). The emphasis on axiology in the ecolinguistics domain is to refute the value-free standing point in the Newtonian paradigm. For a further account of the value-free standpoint in the ecolinguistic domain, see Zhou (2017).

Døør (2007) advocate a Yin-Yang[4] model of the universe of the discourse, which explores how the contextual level and the textual level are interrelated with the two interfaces of the situation and the dialogue (Bang and Døør, 2007: 61-62). Zen in Eastern philosophy has also gained popularity among current ecolinguistics. Stibbe presents an analytical model of a Zen-inspired discourse, that is, Japanese natural poetry, in the context of environmental education (Stibbe, 2012), as well as in the appraisal patterns of ecological discourse analysis (Stibbe, 2015; Zhou, 2016). Zhou (2017) proposes a harmonious ecolinguistics based on the Chinese worldview of harmony. Fill and Penz (2017) summarize this new philosophical move in the ecolinguistic domain, in their latest publication *The Routledge Handbook of Ecolinguistics* as 'the philosophical side of ecolinguistics' (Fill and Penz, 2017: 5). Specifically, they put it as follows:

> *In the 21ˢᵗ century, several ecolinguists have begun to see ecolinguistics no longer as a discipline within the study of language, but as a unified ecological worldview, in which harmony between humans and nature is expressed (Fill and Penz, 2017: 3). In the future development of ecolinguistics, Chinese philosophy (Confucianism and Taoism) will play a more and more important role (Fill and Penz, 2017: 5).*

Therefore, Eastern philosophy, such as Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, can offer an alternative or a different perspective for ecolinguistics to take into account what the future of the discipline can hold. We will now examine the harmonious approach in detail.

1.3 A harmonious approach to ecolinguistics

Based on the underlying connection between the ecological crisis and ecolinguistics, and the alternative perspective of Eastern philosophy, Chinese philosophy in particular, Zhou (2017) proposes a harmonious approach to ecolinguistics, which can be further interpreted as three senses of realization of a new harmonious ecolinguistics, a harmonious view of language and mind, and a harmonious ecological worldview.

Specifically, inspired by Steffensen and Fill's naturalized view of language and proposal of a unified ecological language science (Steffensen and Fill, 2014) or a unified ecolinguistic paradigm (Bogusławska-Tafelska,

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[4] The direct meanings of *yin* and *yang* in Chinese are bright and dark sides of an object. Chinese philosophy uses *yin* and *yang* to represent a wider range of opposite properties in the universe: cold and hot, slow and fast, still and moving, masculine and feminine, lower and upper, etc.

2016), the realization of a new harmonious ecolinguistics can rest on the newly-proposed slogan that "if you want to learn about ecolinguistics, forget about linguistics" (Zhou, 2017: 135). In other words, ecolinguistics can go beyond the traditional influence of a dualistic vision of language, life and any other living form (Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2016; 2017; Zhou, 2017).

When it comes to the harmonious view of language and mind, the harmonious approach to ecolinguistics holds the basic notion that language should be treated as part of the world, thus interacting in harmony with mind. This coincides with what Cowley defines as the distributed perspective of language in the domain of bio-ecology (Cowley, 2014; Zhou, 2017). Bogusławska-Tafelska (2016) offers a similar account of describing language as "a life process, within the grid of other life processes locally, globally and non-locally" (Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2016: 9).

Last but not least, the harmonious ecological worldview can be characterized by its non-dualistic, moral, and value-laden qualities. Accordingly, the harmonious ecological worldview "makes moral forces into a primary instrument for world harmony based on empathetic understanding that seeks harmony while also recognizing differences" (Zhou, 2017: 136).

To put it succinctly, the harmonious approach to ecolinguistics can shed light on ways of exploring the ethical values (Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2016) and moral dimensions (Zhou, 2017; Zhou and Huang, 2017) of ecolinguistics. Next, I will present Chinese ecolinguistics as a new harmonious life paradigm in the international context.[5]

2. Chinese ecolinguistics as a new harmonious life paradigm

The last three decades have witnessed three remarkable stages in Chinese ecolinguistics, namely the pre-Haugenian rudimentary stage in the 1990s, the Haugenian stage at the beginning of the 21st century, and the current Hallidayan stage. These three stages have been mainly involved in three dimensions: the introduction of Western ecolinguistics, the localization of the Chinese ecolinguistic discipline in combination with the abundant and diverse language resources of Chinese, and last but not least, the mission of Chinese ecological civilization and environmental

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[5] For a historical review of global ecolinguistics, see Steffensen and Fill (2014) and Zhou (2017).

protection. It has to be pointed out that Chinese ecolinguistics, on the whole, typifies the discontinuous impact of Western ecolinguistics, which can be inferred from the three stages of Chinese ecolinguistics for one thing; and more importantly the continuous affiliation with the Chinese worldview modelled by Confucianism and Taoism for another. The three stages are divided not in terms of isolation or separation, but rough categorization in relation to their affinity with Western non-linguistic theories and ecolinguistic traditions, each of which is represented by a particular Chinese ecolinguist, whose relevant publications, central tenets in terms of their affinity with Western non-linguistic and ecolinguistic theories, as well as the embodiment of a specific Chinese worldview, will be introduced as follows, in response to the above three core questions.

2. 1 The pre-Haugenian stage and Li Guozheng

China's ecolinguistics came into being with a seminal publication in 1991, that is, Li Guozheng's *Ecolinguistic Study of Chinese Language*[6] (Li, 1991). This scholar could be deemed the Chinese "Einar Haugen"; however, he did not follow Haugenian tradition at all, at least judging by this ground-breaking monograph. Li's explicit disconnection with the thought of the Norwegian linguist symbolically opened the door to the subsequent "pre-Haugenian" stage of Chinese ecolinguistics. This stage is called "pre-Haugenian", because Haugen's research focus on "the sociology of language" (instead of "the ecology of language") appealed to Chinese linguistic academia at that time. Topics such as bilingualism, language attitude, code-switching, and language planning received scholarly attention in Chinese academia. As García puts it, "in reality, the father of the ecology of language ought to be characterized as a sociolinguist... rather than an ecolinguist" (García, 2011: 496; quoted after Eliasson, 2015: 87). Accordingly, it was not until 2004, in Fan Junjun and Gong Qi's translated article of Alwin Fill's "Ecolinguistics: the state of art 1998" (cf. Fill et al., 2004) that Einar Haugen, in the name of "the forerunner of Western ecolinguistics", together with the concept of "ecology of language" (Fill et al., 2004: 5), was 'officially' brought into the Chinese ecolinguistic literature. This was bound to exert a profound impact on the subsequent "Haugenian" stage of ecolinguistics in the country.

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[6] It should be noted that there has been little English literature review concerning Chinese ecolinguistics so far; therefore, the following literature review concerning this topic is translated by the author herself from Chinese originals.

Li Guozheng introduced ecological principles and theories into Chinese linguistics proper. He also analysed modern Mandarin and some typical Chinese dialects, which were then the main subjects of linguistic traditions in China. His most widely cited monograph, *Ecolinguistic Study of Chinese Languages* (1991) did not win great popularity among the Chinese ecolinguistic circle until the beginning of the 21st century due to the contemporary dominance of structuralist theories in China (cf. Casacchia, 2006). Although Li's contribution to Chinese ecolinguistics was limited to only several articles published afterwards (see also Li, 1992), the monograph alone has made a significant difference to the development of Chinese ecolinguistics. The 545-page-long monograph consists of an introduction, 6 chapters and a postscript. The introductory part serves as the background of the whole book, in which Li illustrates some controversial issues in contemporary linguistics at home and abroad, such as various viewpoints on the essence of language, as well as his own appraisal of them. Then the first three chapters are devoted to basic ecolinguistic theories, including "language ecosystem", "the environment of language" and "ecological movement of language". The remainder of the book recounts the theories in the practical sense, i.e. "Chinese language ecosystem", "the ecologies of Chinese language", and the methodology of Chinese ecolinguistics.

2.2 Harmonious thinking in Li Guozheng's tenets: ecological harmony

2.2.1 'Ecosystem'

Though Li did not transfer Haugen's "ecology of language" into the Chinese ecolinguistic field, he did adopt some Western ecological principles from linmology, plant ecology, animal ecology, population ecology, ecosystem ecology and cultural ecology, in an attempt to open a new horizon for the contemporary Chinese linguists. These principles included ecology, ecosystem, Lindeman Efficiency, biosphere, ecological niche, and cultural ecology. Then he summarized the concept of "ecosystem" as follows:

> *Ecosystem is the basic functional unit in nature, among which function and functional niche are the essential concepts; furthermore, the functions of the ecosystem are tightly associated with material flow, energy flow, and above all, information flow among different components of the ecosystem; interrelationships between populations are expected to create new functional niches; and on the whole, the ecosystem is a continuum in the*

given timescale, in which the process of self-organization functions as the important dynamics of the evolution of the ecosystem, which is bound up with the history as well as the future of the ecosystem itself (Li, 1991: 21).

2.2.2 'Language ecosystem' in a natural sense

From those sources of inspiration, Li modelled his central tenets of "language ecosystem", "the environment of language" and also the "interaction" between them. To begin with, Li claims that "Ecolinguistics is the science which studies the interrelationship between language and the environment" (Li, 1991: 48). Given that account, Li holds that a "language ecosystem" is made up of two individual systems: a language system and an environment system. Moreover, the latter can be further sub-categorized into "in-self" ecology and "for-self" ecology. In-self ecology constitutes natural ecology, social ecology, and cultural ecology, which are ranked pyramidally bottom-up according to their closeness to the language system itself (Li, 1991:129). For-self ecology alone is tantamount to human ecology. In this view, the interaction between language and the environment is largely dependent on the material flow, energy flow and information flow among language systems, the in-self ecology system and the for-self ecology system, either unidirectionally or bidirectionally (Li, 1991: 49). On the basis of the above fundamental ecolinguistic theories, he implemented his theories in the analysis of the Chinese language ecosystem in detail and put forward two original concepts: "aesthetic ecology" and "fuzzy ecology" (Li, 1991: 496-497). As for the means of investigation, several potential methods are recommended that ecolinguistics may employ, including the optimized traditional linguistic methods, systematic analysis, empirical and biometrical ones.

It can be inferred from Li's ecolinguistic affinity with Western ecological theories that he is strongly supportive of the restrictive view of ecology as natural and biological science (deLaplante, 2008: 2710). It is admitted that although Li's ecolinguistic thoughts are largely physics-oriented, he borrowed his pluralistic ideas from many sub-fields of ecology. He reflected afterwards that "the legitimate basis of ecolinguistics in the biophysical sense is the energy flow and information flow between different components within the ecosystem" (Li, 1992: 122).[7]

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[7] This was later echoed by Cowley (2014) who claimed that "[a]s physics is complete, the materiality of language cannot be ignored" (Cowley, 2014: 60).

2.2.3 A short discussion

As captured in Fill's famous metaphor of ecolinguistics as a tensional arch of a bridge, "some ecolinguists start at the ecology end and transfer ecological principles, while others start at the language end and bring linguistics to ecology" (Fill and Zhou, 2016: 6). Generally speaking, Li Guozheng started Chinese ecolinguistics by drawing on Western ecology, rather than Western ecolinguistic paradigms. Nevertheless, some inherent affinities of his ecolinguistic theories with modern Western ecolinguistics are located in his monograph, such as his sub-classification of the environment of language (for example, cf. Steffensen and Fill, 2014) and his particular concern about cultural ecology (Finke, 2014), which has reached a common consensus between the Chinese and the Western ecolinguists on some current important ecolinguistic issues to some extent. To sum up, Li's (1992) ecolinguistic tenets are built on the following four pillars: language ecosystem, linguistic niche, linguistic functional level, and the evolution of language, which are still new in the current ecolinguistic discussion. What is more, it is argued that Li's unique claim of "ecological movements of language" is greatly influenced by *yin* and *yang* in the Chinese worldview of ecological harmony (Zhou, 2017).

2.3 "Haugenian" stage and Feng Guangyi

As mentioned above, it was Fan and Gong Qi's introduction of Einar Haugen together with the concept of 'ecology of language' in 2004 that magnificently opened the "Haugenian" stage of Chinese ecolinguistics. In spite of Li's explicit disconnection with Haugen, the Norwegian scholar has been frequently cited and juxtaposed with Li Guozheng by Chinese literature reviews of ecolinguistic development, which has had a potentially negative effect on the future development of this branch of linguistics in China. Haugen's strong orientation towards the sociology of language inspired Feng Guangyi, the second prominent Chinese ecolinguist, to a greater extent, to push Chinese ecolinguistics forward. Therefore, Chinese ecolinguistics in this phase was mainly concerned with the introduction of Western ecolinguistics, especially the "Haugenian paradigm" in the theoretical sense. Furthermore, he attempted to conceptualize Chinese ecolinguistics by taking a wide range of languages in China into consideration.

Feng Guangyi began to involve himself explicitly in Chinese ecolinguistics in 2008 with regard to ecology of language in Chinese ecological civilization (Feng, 2008). In contrast to Li's ecological

approach to Chinese ecolinguistics, Feng is inclined towards the social perspective in terms of social harmony and Chinese ecological civilization, due to his own sociolinguistic core and, more profoundly, Haugen's influences, in spite of his credit to Li as the pioneer of ecolinguistics in China (Feng, 2013: 5). Feng published a series of articles on ecolinguistics, which were later reproduced in the second eye-catching Chinese ecolinguistic monograph, *An Introduction to the Ecology of Language* in 2013. This 340-page book contains a foreword and 8 chapters, and each chapter is concerned with an individual ecolinguistic topic, such as "Language Contact" (Chapter 3), "Lingual people" (Chapter 4), "Language Policies" (Chapter 5), "Language Attitude" (Chapter 6), and "Construction of Chinese Ecological Civilization" (Chapter 8), to name just a few. Although most of the topics in Feng's monograph are, as Zhou and Fill (2016) point out, closely related to Haugen, nonetheless they are no longer in the centre of ecolinguistic research. Then how does Feng conceive of "language", "the environment of language" and the "interaction"? And how does he investigate ecolinguistics?

2.4. Harmonious thinking in Feng Guangyi's tenets: interpersonal harmony

2.4.1 "Language ecosystem" in a social sense

Based on Feng's summary of some historical reviews, it can be inferred that he considers ecolinguistics or ecology of language to be "a brand-new complicated cross-disciplinary science" (Feng, 2013:14):

> *The ecology of language not only touches on linguistics, but also on ecology, and undoubtedly is a new discipline originating from disciplinary integration and interdisciplinarity. Linguistics and ecology alone have reached maturity, on which the ecology of language can be based. The ecology of language, as a sub-discipline, is part of ethnolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, and sociolinguistics. The core question in the ecology of language is "the interaction between language and the environment" ... the ecology of language rests upon language in use, language group, and certain pragmatic behaviours, which is of the distinctive characteristics of applied linguistics (Feng, 2013:13-14).*

Though Feng also introduced the concept of "language ecosystem" into his own work, his version of this concept is completely based on the idea of Dutch sociologist Abram de Swaan of "the global language

system", in which language groups play a dominant role in the whole language ecosystem (Feng, 2013:6). As Tonkin further explains:

> *For de Swaan the global language system consists of a vast constellation in which minor languages revolve around 'central' languages, 'central' languages revolve around 'supercentral' languages and the entire system revolves around the 'hypercentral' English language (Tonkin, 2005: 201).*

2.4.2 'The context of language'

As for the comprehension of "the environment of language", Feng did not illustrate it systematically in the monograph, which is largely due to his focus on "the context of language" before that. Feng interprets "the environment of language" in two ways. In the broader sense, he claims it is a complex whole of language users, the society, culture, and history. In the narrow sense, the concept of "the environment of language" is similar to "the context of culture", "the context of situation", "the social context", and "the linguistic context" (Feng, 1996, 1998). It can be inferred from his understanding that the idea of "the environment of language" is closely linked with what Steffensen and Fill (2014) demonstrate by "the symbolic ecology of language". In other words, Feng understands the environment of language, in no small measure, "as other languages" (Steffensen and Fill, 2014: 8), which is certainly "under the rubric of 'ecology of language', rather than 'ecolinguistics'" (ibid.). Therefore, the interaction between language and the environment, in Feng's understanding, is realized through the coexistence of language by means of bilingual people, language contact, language planning, and language attitude with language harmony as the ultimate goal in the significant context of Chinese ecological civilization. Concerning his means of investigation, Feng suggests several methods, such as for example, systemic methods, comparative and synthetic ones.

2.4.3 A short discussion

It is self-evident that Feng shares the expansive view of ecology as the synthetic systems view (deLaplante, 2008: 2710), which can be seen from his transferring of the combination of ecosystem with language world system under the influence of Eugene Odum (Feng, 2013). Feng's theorization of Chinese ecolinguistics follows the trajectory: linguistic variation – contextual adaptation – language harmony – ecology of language. From this stage on we can obviously see that Chinese ecolinguistics has shifted its attention from the introduction of Western

ecological theories in the natural sense, and from ecolinguistic theories, to the reaffirmation and engraining of Chinese ecolinguistics in its own right in a broader social sense. The Chinese ecolinguists started to strive to go beyond ecolinguistics proper, to explore the potential prospects of Chinese ecolinguistics for the whole of society. This tendency is obvious in Feng's ecolinguistic efforts for the achievement of Chinese language harmony, given the specific context of 56 nationalities and a larger quantity of minority languages and dialects in China. It is believed that Feng's fostering of "language harmony" is closely connected with *he* **("interpersonal harmony")** in the Chinese worldview of social harmony (Zhou, 2017; Zhou and Huang, 2017).

2.5 *"Hallidayan" stage and Huang Guowen*

Huang Guowen, the prominent Chinese systemic-functional linguist, in recent years has turned his attention to ecolinguistics (cf. Xin and Huang, 2013; 2014; Huang, 2016a; 2016b; Huang and Chen, 2016). Accordingly, he started the "Hallidayan"[8] stage in Chinese ecolinguistics officially as a newly emerging ecolinguist.[9] In the beginning of 2016 he set up the very first PhD program of ecolinguistics and the very first Center for Ecolinguistics in China, both within the institution of the South China Agricultural University (SCAU), which has a history of 107 years. From 2018 on, this PhD program is expected to enrol PhD candidates.

Besides this, he organized two sessions of the International Symposium on Ecolinguistics in China, in November 2016 and in August 2017, with Sune Vork Steffensen, Arran Stibbe, Stephen Cowley, and Jonathan Webster as keynote speakers. His unremitting efforts on promoting ecolinguistic studies in China have aroused broad attention at home and abroad and accelerated Chinese ecolinguistics significantly.

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[8] From Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday.

[9] Huang Guowen has long been a well-established Chinese functional linguist. From 2016 on, he has begun devoting himself to the study of Chinese ecolinguistics, and the landmark paper is "Emergence and development of ecolinguistics" (Huang, 2016 a).

2.6 Harmonious thinking in Huang Guowen's tenets: social harmony

2.6.1 'Ecological discourse'

This "Hallidayan" stage differs from the former two stages due to its strong connection with Hallidayan systemic-functional linguistics in terms of discourse analysis and social functions of Chinese ecolinguistics. That is, on one hand, the Chinese systemic functional linguists are endeavouring to conduct ecological discourse analysis within the framework of functional linguistics; on the other, they are extending the mission of Chinese ecolinguistics from the second stage by means of "social accountability" of current Chinese ecolinguists (Huang, 2016 b), as large inspired the Marxism orientation of Hallidayan linguistics.

As for the first aspect of discourse analysis, Zhiying Xin and Guowen Huang (2013) explain it in this way:

> *Ecology has become a pan-disciplinary topic. In the interdisciplinary sphere between ecology and linguistics, researchers focus their interest upon the construction of our language architecture so as to better represent ecological systems and ecological relationships in nature, the effect of language on the environment, and ecological construction (Xin and Huang, 2013: 7).*

Furthermore, Xin and Huang hold that "grammar is an ecosystem which lives within the entire system of nature… as a human social system, as a biological system, and as a semiotic system. It is argued that grammar is a living phenomenon, which demands full consideration of its completeness, evolvingness, changeability, uncertainty, and dynamics" (Xin and Huang, 2013: 23). Based on that, Huang simplifies ecolinguistics as follows:

> *It is an interdiscipline which integrates ecology with linguistics. This new discipline has emerged recently as a new sub-discipline of linguistics. It mainly investigates the ecological factors of language and the relationship between language and the environment to reveal the interaction between language and the environment (Huang, 2016a:1).*

2.6.2 'Social accountability'

Chinese functional ecolinguists consider "language", "environment" and "interaction" more in a grammatical sense, and they maintain that the above three essential components of ecolinguistics proper are embodied in

the eco-discourse, and deeper still in the grammar of language, which resembles the Western Hallidayan ecolinguistic tradition. However, the social accountability of Chinese ecolinguists, as emphasized by Huang (2016 b), is bound up with *wuwei* **("no-action")** in the Chinese worldview of social harmony (Zhou, 2017; Zhou and Huang, 2017).

2.6. 3 A short discussion

Hallidayan linguistics has gained wide-ranging popularity in China, not only because of Michael Halliday's personal strong academic connection with China and Chinese language in his own academic pursuits, but also for two other reasons. Firstly, Hallidayan linguistics is compliant with the tradition of linguistics in China and secondly, the affinities are due to the fact that there are a number of Chinese linguists who have become important figures in Chinese academia (Huang, 2002: 282).

3. Future horizons: harmonious discourse analysis

The first two sections of this chapter present the definitions and notions of what makes Chinese ecolinguistics a new harmonious life paradigm. It has to be admitted that Chinese ecolinguistics has remained under-explored since its emergence under the framework of Saussurean linguistics in 1985 (Zheng, 1985). The proposal of this new harmonious life paradigm can bring a new agenda of harmonious discourse analysis into the future horizons of ecolinguistics as a life science (Steffensen, 2007). This original concept was first proposed by Huang (2016c), and essentially means the following potential agendas: (1) the harmonious model of discourse analysis; (2) the discursive characteristics of harmonious discourse and disharmonious discourse; (3) the double-edged-sword impact those discourses may exert on ecological harmony.

This new topic in Chinese ecolinguistics can shed light on ways of promoting human beings' harmonious awareness. Also, a wide range of topics worthy of further exploration are expected to arise, such as the differences between critical discourse analysis, ecological discourse analysis, and harmonious discourse analysis; and the intrinsic connections between harmonious discourse, harmonious awareness, and harmonious actions.

4. Funding

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An Ecolinguistic Approach to Communication in the ESP Class as a Model of a Learning Community

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Abstract

Considering the paradigm repositioning within contemporary language studies, this chapter addresses the issue of communication as a holistic interaction within a field of meaning from an ecolinguistics perspective. Its focus on unifying knowledge seeks to recognise points of contact and convergence of fragmented or formalistic worldviews. The ecological approach employs a more dynamic and multi-modal tactics than the traditional discourse studies. Along the line of ecosystemic metaphors, communicative relationships are charted as living systems on an interconnected map. The interaction within the extended form of consciousness is considered holistically, in relation to and interdependently with the environment. Furthermore, the interaction of various strands of meaning and paradigms within the cultural environment is perceived in an interrelated manner, for the most beneficial outcomes. The current approach to *language as an essential life process* (Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2016) facilitates further exploration of emergent features within cultural signification systems: relentless growth towards extended complexity. For that reason, it is essential to perceive communication in all its complexity, as an extension from language formalism towards encompassing its greater diversity as a life mechanism.

Key terms: ecolinguistics, holism, English language teaching / learning, meaning, communication

1. Introduction

The chapter explores the role of communication in the life-sustaining interactions between species and the environment, especially as language showcased in the ESP (English for Special Purposes) class; the exploration is undertaken from the ecolinguistics perspective. This approach has been extensively employed in research on eco-cultural issues, such as biodiversity and integration, alienation from nature, or understanding conceptual framings of (human) nature. Ecolinguistics has called into question the linguistic-cultural superstructures and paradigmatic constructs which underpin ecologically destructive mind-frames, perceived as fragmented or disconnected from the chain of being. The aim of ecocriticism is to promote the sustainability of cultural/life processes by means of improved models of communication which would enhance the sense of connectedness and appurtenance.

Over the last three decades, this approach has helped uncover (restrictive) implications in culture and ideological meaning systems toward developing an ecocultural discourse from the holistic point of view. The ample research conducted in this expanding field, in correlation to transdisciplinary perspectives from numerous other fields of scientific inquiry, point to the emergence of a new paradigm which appears to be more inclusive and holistic, rather than revolutionary or reactive. With ecocultural communication at its core, the new worldview currently taking contour is accommodating the construction of multicultural and plurivocal paradigmatic modalities which is globally in progress. The aim of the present concise study is to map this paradigmatic shift and its benefits by tracing the holistic mind-frame in teaching/learning English, in transdisciplinary research, and any other communicative modalities we may be participating in more generally and cohesively. The specific pedagogical interest in the ESP class is used as an instantiation or a model of an optimal learning community collaborating towards personal growth and an extended awareness of the interrelatedness which is pervasive in all life systems.

2. Communication through the lens of Ecolinguistics

The discussion tackles some core aspects for the examination of cultural environmental meaning systems with the purpose of applying these findings to English language teaching and learning; they can be used more extensively for learning in general. A humanistic and ecological understanding of the human condition in the world highlights

communication as a veritable unifying field and a cultural reinforcement vector. The humanities and languages – especially English (as a highly sought-for acquisition) – function as a pervasive platform for communication and the global exchange of meaning. Therefore, it is a good medium for language educators to help learners think holistically and understand communication in an ecolinguistic light.

The ecological metaphor may also be employed in the environment of the language learner community, in the extended context of "classroom ecologies" (Creese and Martin, 2003). From the ecological perspective, classrooms are seen as micro-systems where occurring interactions are connected to wider thought paradigms encompassed in the grand scheme of life. Accordingly, the pedagogical relevance of the eco-perspective on language education provides arguments for respecting the environment, including all forms of life, and for challenging prevailing educational patterns fixated on a formal understanding of knowledge. Being educational practitioners, our interest in developing key competences from an integrated perspective resorts to the application of learning for life, with respect for natural ecosystems and our interdependence.

Therefore, the knowledge, skills and attitudes we choose to practice throughout the educational journey become meaningful tools for personal development, building ecological awareness, and global integration. As teachers of English for Specific Purposes at several faculties within the area of Life Sciences, we employ communicative and collaborative learning strategies in order to in order to exchange information on relevant issues, such as understanding life processes, the web of life, and environmental exploration.

With environmental topics increasingly relevant, it is useful to place this exploration within a wider inquiry field. Researchers in ecolinguistics explain that communication and particular modes of framing it inform environmental perceptions, which in turn determine our actions according to the sociocultural paradigm we "inhabit". Thus, communication is largely viewed as a sociocultural operation, because our symbolic practices actively inform not only our perceptions, but also our decisions. This carries implications across a range of decisions affecting our environment – from the depleting, destructive, and extractive penchant typical of consumerist societies to the restorative, therapeutic, and (self)constructive paradigm currently in progress.

This interpretation of communication also carries particular significance for the understanding of schemas underpinning language and of the ways meaning is constructed through framing language in particular ways. Therefore, the practical application of these proposed considerations

implies the responsibility to ensure that communication processes be ethical and avoid misunderstandings or conflicts, and generally to address meaningful issues in an optimal way. For that purpose, we focus on the content of learning, the adaptive mechanisms at work in the learner's growth process, and generally on personal development through communicative-based learning. Another aim is to promote and share good practices with other researchers, while constructively focusing on aspects we can reclaim across methodologies, and fields of study.

3. Holism as an extended web of consciousness

The discussion also explores the best ways to conceptualize language and communication in order to fit the holistic understanding of ecolinguistics in correlation and conjunction with any number of other disciplines. We look at the meanings we exchange to produce shared understandings, but also new realities, and what is the proper way to decode/produce meaning in a truthful manner. On the level of linguistic elements, a series of words have taken on new meanings to address new realities or older ones in a new light and a host of new items have entered our vocabularies (such as *Anthropocene, biocentrism, ecosophy, ecocriticism,* and other related lexemes which we plan to explore in future linguistic studies).

The new approach under discussion is holistic in that it uncovers how the symbolic realm shapes our perceptions and subsequently our actions, how our modes of communication influence our conceptions of the world and the way we relate to it, naturalizing particular realities and ignoring others that we cannot understand or lack the language to put in the right perspective. Therefore, it is useful to be in a continuous process of learning, unlearning, and editing, in order to achieve higher levels of understanding, which can best be carried out collaboratively. When setting the scene for holism, Jan Christiaan Smuts auspiciously anticipated the extent to which the meanings of his intuition would expand. As a representative of interdisciplinary thought, he made reference to physics, biology, as well as philosophy, to conduct his inquiry as broadly as possible.

> *It is a book neither of Science nor of Philosophy, but of some points of contact between the two. To my mind it is the surface of contact between the two that will prove fruitful and creative for future progress in both, and to which special attention should be directed (Smuts, 1927: vii).*

The unifying principle Smuts identified across disciplines as early as 1927 was *holism,* as he acknowledged that this encompassing "whole-

making" or "holistic tendency" (ibid.) is fundamental in nature across all systems. Reclaiming this line of thought, Harald Walach and Nikolaus von Stillfried (2011) elaborate the generalised quantum meta-theory. The scholars suggest that holism could be a new meta-theoretical framework, which would encourage a more inclusive way of looking at our world and which might increase our understanding of reality. This approach, which they call "Generalised Quantum Theory" (GQT) is a extension along the lines of quantum theory so it can also be applicable to life systems in general. By adopting such a holistic perspective, we may be able to observe and study more and to understand longstanding inexplicable phenomena in a new light, e.g. non-causal distance communication (Walach and Stillfried, 2011: 4).

Being as yet in the process of elaboration, this inclusive approach is supported by ecolinguistics in exploring the role of human consciousness in the life-sustaining interactions within the environment and the larger ecosystems that life depends on. The cultural, social, and ecological issues that humanity currently faces call into question the constructions underpinning our systems of thought. Some of the language mechanisms used to encode such systems include framings, identity constructions, ideologies, conceptual metaphors, and other devices like subtraction and abstraction of selected meanings.

Although the task of ecocriticism is to decode such narratives and to uncover imbedded ideologies, the stories various communities have built in their communication processes can also be read as a basin of shared values. For all the divergences, participants at different stages along the development of the biosphere have articulated narratives with similar basic structures. These fundamental similarities indicate the existence of a global consciousness, which can be associated to Pierre Teilhard de Chardin's (1976) concept of the *noosphere*. This idea entails the transformation of human cognition at the utmost level of complexity, reaching the level where the biosphere becomes a thinking life form on a planetary scale. This emerges through the interaction of minds and indicates the emergence of a new level of understanding of the human ecosystem. The evolution of complexity in nature is perceived relative to the processes of consciousness growth, in the direction of the unification of its elements. The gradual complexification of human languages, cultures, and thought patterns has accelerated the manifestation of creativity, which supersedes natural selection. In this new direction of cultural evolution, another emergent phenomenon occurs, drawing on creativity: the co-creation of the (self)conscious universe.

As a continuation of the evolution of consciousness, global communication is further mapped as a neuronal net from the perspective of quantum entanglement. The *net* or *web* metaphor will be discussed below in terms of a synthesizing vision of complexification on any level of life processes, scaling up to an all-inclusive communication network of human thought. It is essential to place this new perspective out of conventional hierarchies, in the awareness that every place and moment across the human socio-cultural horizon can be regarded as a centre of the world. By connecting all points of contact, the world is in a permanent process of re-creating meaning. Just as we can look back and discover narratives on our shared cultural map, we can also look forward and convene on what potential meanings to create in the cultural geographies we aspire to inhabit in the future. The best way to proceed is by integrating valuable insights from all areas and the closest applicability would be the educational environment, especially within the humanities.

From this perspective, the extended educational paradigm proposed by (Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2006; 2009; 2013) is articulated on the ecological perspective and a dynamic participatory model of the educational life process. Bogusławska-Tafelska (2015: 7) highlights the strategic nature of learning, as it is aimed at life adaptation, and therefore educational process becomes a life strategy which is best examined from an extended, long-term perspective. The hypotheses she formulates propose adaptation and self-regulation as the core task of education, with the corollaries of self-exploration and self-communication which the actively engaged learner undertakes, while the teacher's task is to activate and enable these processes.

It may be seen that ecological perspectives on education encompass some of the most insightful views on intellectual growth as a process of adaptation or adjustment to the world. As holistic views replace the previously dominant positivist or materialist trend, the researcher's role is to tackle realities in relation, by genuinely exchanging ideas within the community in a common coordinated effort to reach higher levels of understanding. Good communication practices are key to this endeavour, as much as they are worthwhile facilitating within the learning environment. In order to accurately reflect this relational methodology, the teacher's role is to create affordances for holistic interaction, opportunities and "enablements" rather than constraints.

4. Participation in the co-creation of meaning

4.1. Communication as affordance beyond minimal niche

From an Ecolinguistics perspective, the concept *affordance* was transferred to language learning by Leo van Lier (2000; 2004; 2008), who analyses its various interpretations by emphasizing relations and interaction. In van Lier (2000: 253), *affordances* are understood as opportunities for interaction that the environment presents as potential relations. This meaning is extended with reference to the reconceptualization of affordances mapped onto the background of language as "immediately recognizable projections, predictions and perceived consequences of making this (and not that) utterance at any given time" (Forrester in van Lier, 2004: 91). According to ecological approaches to education, "the learner is immersed in an environment full of potential meanings" which become "available gradually as the learner acts within and with the environment" (van Lier, 2000: 246). Thus, meaning emerges as learners respond to opportunities for interaction and they are willing to negotiate, constantly reorganize, and adapt to the changing circumstances, instead of getting caught up inside a paradigm of thinking or in the constraints of their particular niche.

Situating learners in a specific niche corresponds to socio-cultural perspectives on learning, where participants are situated in a specific culture and learning operates through interaction with the environment, including cultural artefacts, among which language is the most extensively employed. English learners are able to find pervasive language affordances, which they are to employ by engaging actively with the meanings they circulate. According to Leo van Lier, "language affordances, whether natural or cultural, direct or indirect, are relations of possibility among language users" (van Lier, 2004: 95). Depending on how learners relate to the language they learn, it may be perceived as a tool for communication or an instrument which opens possibilities, a carrier of cultural prestige, etc.

Ultimately, culture can be perceived as an environment mediated by language, where the new zeitgeist is multiculturalism, with English ranking high as the standard mediator. What English provides is the possibility of going outside one's (learning) niche as a language learner's position in a discourse community (such as a class of students). By using English, students can take advantage of a richness of affordances to extend their perspectives and organically take learning outside the restricted area of the classroom. What we ought to teach is motivational strategies to inspire learners to maximize their use of cultural resources, along with

equipping them with proper decoding mechanisms in a holistic environment. Through a collaborative act of co-constructing meaningful communication, learners engage more authentically and gain a deeper conceptual understanding of learning. Further research ought to consider questions like: how can meaningful communication be understood by language learners as a holistic superstructure of life? One possible suggestion is understanding communication as a life process by uncovering its complexity and dynamic structure in greater detail.

4.2. Extended models of interaction as complex dynamic systems

By extending educational contexts beyond the classroom, we acknowledge the fact that learning a language is a matter of agency and social/cultural presence in the world. New perspectives have been inaugurated by ecolinguistics, which envisions second language acquisition as a complex system entailing explorations of the deep scripts of human interaction with the learning environment in its entirety. The new approach signposts a "quantum leap" from focus on the acquisition of linguistic structures to language seen as a semiotic social practice and a complex dynamic system. The ecological approach highlights languages as a web of relations rather than objects (words, sentences, rules), as well as the relationship between language-users and their environment, connecting cognitive processes to social semiotic processes.

This approach to language learning/teaching continues to explore the interconnections between the learner and the social world, underpinning the cultural construction of identity. In a participatory universe where participants give rise to information, the way we perceive affordances depends on how they relate to us. By correlating the meanings we map on the world to our identities, "to perceive the world is to copercieve oneself" and, therefore, "the awareness of the world and of one's complementary relations to the world are not separable" (Gibson, 1986: 141).

Language within the eco-holistic perspective on complexity is to be regarded within a larger whole of communicative possibilities. The potential of complexity language acquires parallels the growing levels of complexity typical of natural living systems. On an evolutionary scale, gradual complexification can be applied both to languages and to the process of language learning, which becomes more complex than iterating phonemes, memorizing words, and connecting them in sentences to form complete speech; this would then be used to form patterns of thought and, ultimately, to frame specific types of discourse into entire cultural systems.

However, what goes one level beyond all this structure is the current inevitability of connecting disparate cultural systems into multi-layered, multi-modal, and highly complex macro-net. The term "macro-culture" is purposefully avoided here, as it may imply iterative amalgamation of many into one, whereas the "net" or "web" metaphor implies modular diversity. It is worth mentioning that languages which compete for supremacy run the risk of being conducive to monocultures and levelling diversity in other systems (Frățilă, 2006: 15). The author espouses the ecolinguistics standpoint that the risk of monoculture can be countered by ensuring the conditions for diversity to develop (ibid.).

5. Interdisciplinary perspectives

5.1. *Synchronizations of meaning*

In communication processes, we must become aware of the ways changing paradigms are underwritten by changes of meanings. As paradigms replace one another, the usual process occurs by reaction or revolution, with the consequence that ambiguities and misinterpretations are often entailed. Moreover, we need to remember that any one standpoint of a given paradigm is by necessity limiting, as we may sometimes fail to perceive what we do not expect or have available language and thought patterns to articulate. When elucidating the relationship between science and the humanities, we must stand for interdisciplinarity, as holistic communication remains seated in the quantum field of non-locality across all disciplines. Ultimately, communication relies on coordinating meanings and therefore entails a discussion of relational aspects.

Meaning is relational in that it reflects how languages encode relationships between object, facts, or properties of what is perceived in the world. It is also relational with respect to the observer's own relationship to what is perceived, conveyed, and to how meaning is assigned to what is observed. As the quantum paradigm brings forth a correlation between the observer and the observed, so are we in an interactive relationship while mediating between aspects some of us perceive and aspects others identify. The process of assigning meaning to what is perceived in the world is also, not least, dependent upon its relationship with language, which includes disjunctive aspects of reality and manages what is not yet understood. In this context, communicators who engage in bringing their larger cultural scripts into dialogue, (which includes learners, as much as members of the scientific community across

fields of study), must become aware that communication processes are complex systems containing interdependent participants. Learners in particular must be enabled to gain understanding and personal growth in a variety of environments beyond the classroom, and to adopt a meaningful value perspective on communication. Educators must therefore help learners develop a deeper awareness of how to relate contextually, socially, culturally, and environmentally, in the light of the ecological revolution.

For these reasons, extended meaning can emerge from intellectual conjunctions and meetings of minds from disciplines which may seem incompatible. To mention but one example, there is a particularly rich field of "cross-pollination" between physicists (especially those committed to the quantum paradigm) and psychologists in the quest to understand the correspondences between the physical and psychic aspects of reality (cf. Pauli correspondence with Jung in Pauli, 2001). The mixture between Jung's psychoanalysis and Pauli's scientific perspective was symptomatic of a creative fusion between perspectives belonging to different types of inquiry. The blend between psychology and the scientific understanding of the processes observable in the material world often spurred new insights, such as the emergence of the idea of "synchronicity" – meaningful connection of causally unrelated events. While positivist science refers only to causal explanations of experiments, Pauli acknowledged "meaning-correspondence" as an "ordering factor" in the unified universal web, avowing his faith in interdisciplinary thinking in his letters to Jung (Pauli, 2001), which points to the emergence of a new paradigm.

5.2. Communication as unification of meaning

Traditional approaches to what can be considered scientific discourse are commonly restricted by the positivist verifiability principle that meaningful statements must be supported by empirical evidence or logical requirements. This idea of objective facts which limit the area and method of science can be associated to positivism or logical atomism, the belief that the world consists of facts and objects, as opposed to transcendental idealism or any type of holism. Just as logical atomism was framed as a reaction against traditional schools of idealism, various strands of theory have operated by eliminating other lines of thought. But our disconnected analytical models fail to map properly and comprehensively the most advantageous end result.

This stand proof that all disjunctive models come short in explaining the complexity of life processes entirely. They are each inscribed in the

conventional binary logic or the logic of the excluded middle which predicts that "if there are two mutually exclusive descriptions of a phenomenon, it is commonly assumed that maximally one of them can be right and the other must then be wrong" (Walach and Stillfried, 2011: 190), which is disproved by the quantum theory. For these reasons and other paradigmatic limitations, nonphysical meanings cannot be decoded and deeper knowledge cannot advance in certain directions because of the a priori implausibility for non-local or non-causal relatedness, based on the presuppositions of locality and causality. That events outside the grasp of a paradigm are to be experimentally demonstrated within that same paradigm is clearly incompatible.

Along the lines of the Generalised Complementarity and Non-Locality model, our suggestion is to negotiate an extended and inclusive perspective. The scholars proposed their model as a complement rather than a replacement of the standard scientific paradigm, in order to find an optimal balance (Walach and Stillfried, 2011: 7). This standpoint capitalizes on another line of process-orientated thought on interrelatedness initiated by the theory of holism, as proposed by Jan Smuts. While disjunctive narratives of the cultural superstructure have drawn on dichotomies like competition versus collaboration, the new eco-holistic perspective is reconciliatory. The disjunctive attributes we perceive in the natural world have been considered in opposition, according to binary logic. Choosing to abstract the idea of competition instead of collaboration from perceived natural systems is uncovered by ecocriticism as a cultural construct. Moreover, ecolinguistics enables us to recognize the fact that these aspects can all coexist interdependently. This takes us to the understanding that every living being maximizes the potential for all other partakers in the complex lifecycles within the entire ecosystem. For this reason, we propose a model of integrated collaborative communication to replace routines of disjunctive competitiveness because the latter remains profoundly unaware of the pervasive connectedness unfolding on a macro-scale.

6. Final considerations

Seeing that no existing, single-school approach has such an encompassing complexity as to address the multifaceted nature of fundamental realities (such as the nature of consciousness and communication), the theory of theories proposed by ecolinguistic holism provides the conceptual framework required to synchronize our knowledge (gaps) through comprehensive communication. Therefore, the key word of

our discussion may well be holism, meaning the integration of perspectives in an open dialogue as an interchange of ideas with unrestricted creative potential. In order to achieve such high expectations, integrating holistic perspectives and communicative competences in the language curriculum is equally important because the way we communicate is the interface between humanity and nature. Ecological approaches strive to encompass perspectives which are as inclusive as possible, thus helping us deepen our levels of reflection, expression, in order to be able to create constructive ways in which to communicate. To assimilate this awareness properly into our cognitive schemas, every effort is required to create new combinations of the resources available to us.

Our perspectives and modes of interaction need to be reconstructed in such a manner that our human patterns of thinking become a net positive to the world around and preserve its richness instead of hazardously depleting its/our own resources. It is not enough to change our patterns of thought, as long as we fail to communicate these alternative priorities within our interactive webs. Change should focus on the ideas which determine our actions in society and the cultural space because our decisions are driven by the beliefs we embrace. As educators, our challenge is finding optimal ways to organize a class ecosystem in an organic, engaging manner for learners to interact in genuine communication. Also, we need to conceive personalized ways in which members of the learning community can be incentivized to gain the awareness of our interaction patterns with the ones around us and with our environment, towards more constructive attitudes. When these attitudes and thinking patterns carry extended benefit to the society, as much as to the individual, they enable us to grow personally and to serve in the world at the same time.

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Understanding Loans from Standard Polish into the Polish Sign Language by the Deaf: A Perception Study

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Abstract

Education of the Deaf for many years has been subject of much dispute, both in Poland and abroad. In particular, the cynosure of argumentative battles has been the status of the Polish Sign Language (PSL – (Pol.) *Polski Język Migowy* in relation to teaching standard verbal language to the deaf in special schools (e.g. Tomaszewski 2005). In this chapter we focus on some of the ecological aspects of the coexistence of these two varieties within what Ludwik Zabrocki (1963) called communicative communities and speech communities. We follow Stanisław Puppel (2014 *inter alia*) in relating to the complex nature of linguistic resources and against such background we cast our pilot study on the perception of the loans from standard Polish by a school community of deaf and hard of hearing. The study is based on the results of the questionnaire administered to 23 students of two special schools for children with hearing impairments in Poznań and in Kalisz (Poland). The results point to the educational rift between the two linguistic resources in the investigated communicative community of the Deaf. In the semiotic dimension, the analysis supported some of the pivotal tenets of Natural Phonology (cf. e.g. Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, 1995; Dressler, 1984), namely, the most iconic loans, most relating to the *figure and ground principle*, obtained the highest recognition rate, while the most fixed and morphologized concatenations – the lowest.

Key terms: the Polish Sign Language, the Polish language, culture of the Deaf, loans, languuge contact, perception study

1. Introduction

In the ecolinguistic theory of language and communication the study of sign languages seems to be forgotten. According to Marta Bogusławska-Tafelska (2013), 'ecology' entails holism yet without reductionism (Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2013: 9). This holistic uptake includes in our opinion also the communication of the disabled and of people with special communication needs. Aiming to create a "multiplayer grid model of reality and the essential context for any linguistic phenomena" (Bogusławska-Tafelska, 2013: 9), we have to take into consideration not only the words human speak and hear and gestures we send and receive as nonverbal communication, but also sign languages which are equal to phonic languages as well as to other systems of alternative and augmentative communication.[1] Moreover, considering the community of sign language users, we cannot limit this group to deaf people only – sign language is used with success also by people with disabilities and complex communications needs (see a report of a case study in Kossowska 2016).

In this chapter we pioneer a study of a deaf community with regard to some of the educational challenges they face, focusing on the perceptions of loans from Standard Polish into the Polish Sign Language[2] by hearing-impaired respondents. The study is important for several reasons. First of all, although from the didactic side, the Polish Sign Language is quite well elaborated,[3] linguistic work on that language is relatively less advanced, in particular, when compared with the plethora of work on e.g. the British Sign Language. In fact, up to this date, there has been no comprehensive manual of the Polish Sign Language published, nor any comprehensive description of its grammar.[4] Even the name itself (*polski język migowy*)

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[1] Complex Communication Needs (CCN) Practice Guide for Speech Pathologists who Support People with Disability (2015), access 23 X 2017
http://www.adhc.nsw.gov.au/__data/assets/file/0006/338829/Complex_Communication_Needs_Practice_Guide.pdf

[2] (Pol.) *polski język migowy*. Henceforth we will use the acronym from the Polish name: *PJM*.

[3] See for example a synopsis of bibliography on the topic of surpedagogy in Giedrys-Woźny 2016 (online at:
https://www.dbp.wroc.pl/biblioteki/swidnica/images/Dokumenty/surdopedagogika.pdf)

[4] A concise introduction can be found in Tomaszewski and Rosik (2003). See also Tomaszewski (2010) for the description of the phonology of the PJM.

came to be used only after 1994, and what is more, its coining and dissemination is not the merit of domestic scholars but is attributed to the British specialist of sign languages, Michael Farris (1994). The corpus of the PSL started to be created only in 2016 and can be found under the URL: http://www. slownikpjm.uw.edu.pl/.

Currently, linguistic and pragmatic research on the PJM is mainly developed within the Warsaw Research Group – in particular by scholars such as Marek Świdziński (e.g. 2003) and Piotr Tomaszewski.[5] Some of the legal and pragmatic aspects of the Deaf [6] community are reported in a series of works by Iwona Grzesiak (e.g. Grzesiak, 2006 and references therein). A most recent study on the axiological indices of identity amongst the members of Deaf culture, conducted based on a collected database of written texts, is provided in Wrześniewska-Pietrzak (2017). [7] Notwithstanding, studies investigating Deaf community and Deaf culture are less frequent.[8] The reason is that in fact people with acute hearing impartments in Poland constitute a sort of a marginalized diaspora-like community; closed off from the mainstream communicational channels and not easily penetrable by outsiders. What is more, in Poland there is still a widespread lingering stereotyping of a sign language as not being a full-fledged language (the stereotype entrenched even among some scholars). Finally, to the best of our knowledge, there have not been any perception studies carried among Polish Deaf communities up to this date.[9] In this study, we venture an exploratory work in this direction.

The chapter is structured as follows. In the first section we provide some insights regarding the educational situation into which hearing-impaired children are thrown on the threshold of undertaking education, emphasizing the fact that the Deaf community themselves are advocating the strategy of bilingualism (see also Czajkowska-Kisil, 2005; Świdziński,

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[5] Piotr Tomaszewski is a psychologist, a linguist and a member of the Deaf culture, who in his nunerous publications (e.g. 2000, 2010 inter alia) addresses the aspects such as the phonology and grammar of PJM, as well as explores the attitudes towards PJM prevailing in the Polish academia. At the time of writing the chapter (2018) the Head of the PLM (Pol. Pracownia Lingwistyki Migowej   Sign Linguistics Lab) is Dr Paweł Rutkowski.

[6] There is an issue of capitalizing the lexeme 'deaf'. If it is used in an adjectival function, we leave it without capitalization, however, when it is used in a nominal function, relating to the members of a particular community, it is spelt in a capital letter.

[7] The same reference for indepth bibliography of works on Deaf Culture.

[8] But see Tomaszewski (1983).

[9] A sample perception study on British sign language is proposed in Watkins, Thompson (2017). See also work by Diane Brentari (e.g. 1998).

2003). The next section is devoted to the sketch of some general aspects of the PJM, as the object of the present study. Subsequently, theoretical underpinnings for the study are reviewed, in which we cast Ludwik Zabrocki's theory of linguistic communities (1963) against the ecological work on communication by Stanisław Puppel. The final section describes the research instrument, research procedure and the respondents' cohort. Following that we present the results, viewing some aspects of the education of the deaf as a communicative behavior dynamics (cf. Puppel, 2004: 4). The conclusions also subsume some semiotic insights, confirming Natural Phonology tenets. This will be done by analyzing the responses against the semiotic Gestalt principle of *figure and ground*.

1.1 Oralism and bilingualism as educational options

According to the data of the Central Statistical Office (Pol. GUS – *Główny Urząd Statystyczny*) for 2004, in Poland the number of people with hearing impairments within the population 15-70 years of age was estimated at over 835 000 (GUS 2007: 183). In the report *Stan zdrowia ludności Polski* [Health status of Polish population] from 2009, GUS specified the number of 696 000 people with impairments and with hearing organ aged 15 and more (GUS 2009: 257). In that number, deaf and almost deaf people constitute over 73 000, and those who „hear the talk with the participation of several people with difficulty"[10] amount to almost 480 000 people (GUS 2009: 148). The above reports take into account the number of people with hearing deficiency without any breakdown into the cause or the scale thereof. It must be emphasized nevertheless that reliable information on the exact number of people with hearing impairment in Poland is lacking, in particular taking into consideration the criterion of communication means or cultural identity.

Deaf people in Poland are most often perceived in terms of 'disability'[11]. Naturally, therefore, rehabilitation measures are enforced

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[10] All the translations in the present chapter are mine, M.H.-G.

[11] There is an entrenched conviction that current technological advances have eradicated the issue of hearing impairments from contemporary society; due to the possibility of wearing all sorts of hearing implants and hearing aids. Of course, in an array of cases an implant can be of substantial help; there are children who have been implanted at the age of being several months old and are performing perfectly. Yet, there is a huge number of intervening variables here: the skill of a technician attuning the implant for a particular wearer, the type and cause of hearing impairment, the quality and type of the apparatus prescribed (analogue, digital). There are no scientific data on practical befits of implant wearing nor on emotional or identity issues relating to wearing the implants.

from the first moments of a child's life / diagnosing their condition. The staple assumption is to teach a child the correct articulation of phonic language segments as well as lip-reading, so that the child with hearing impairments can perform without any problems in the society of hearing people. [12]

About **90%** of Polish deaf children have hearing parents (Tomaszewski, **2000**: 23; Bartnikowska, **2010**: 86). This fact is not irrelevant for shaping their linguistic skills, because in the vast majority of cases these children have contact only with the phonic language. This is because parents tend to opt for the oralist approach to their deaf children education, following the prevailing ambiance among suropedagogy specialists. In this program, which is realized for the majority of children with selective hearing deficiency, the emphasis is put on learning verbal (phonic) speech, on the visual perception of speech, and on speech-reading. Medical and rehabilitation activities that aim to use and enhance residual or remaining hearing in the rehabilitation process are of great importance. The aim of the oralist strategy is, as Tomaszewski (**2000**: 23) points out, to enable a deaf child to reach the sonic world and to integrate within the hearing people environment. On the other hand, all forms of even para-verbal gestures or the use of sign language are discouraged or even prohibited in that approach since its proponents argue that gestural input disturbs the process of learning the spoken language (Tomaszewski, **2000**: 23).

Yet, learning the articulatory movements for particular sounds or the ability to read from the lips is not synonymous with the acquisition of appropriate language skills. Reading a word out is not tantamount to its comprehension. Hence there is need for sustained research into intralanguage among the Deaf, as well as into the first and second language acquisition models applicable for Deaf culture.[13] An important question to ask is: can a deaf child master the verbal language to the same extent as a hearing child? A concise review of literature on the topic provided in Tomaszewski (**2000**: 23f) shows that deaf children exposed to the oral method are much slower to assimilate the phonic language compared to their hearing peers, because natural language acquisition in the phonic modality is lacking.[14] Every child, when learning communication

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[12] We are leaving out the issue of implantations and hearing aids, as a separate very complex both in ethical, medial and pragmatic terms. For a critical approach to that topic, cf. Tomaszewski (2018 [forth.]).

[13] For such a model in the phonic language in Natural framework, see for example Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (1990).

[14] For example, the research by Schlesinger and Meadon ([1972]) as cited in Tomaszewski (2000: 23) done in deaf and hearing children in the kindergarten age

skills, learns to analyze statements, that is, learns to understand sentences
(decoding) and to synthesize the message, that is, to construct sentences
(coding). The child must receive words with understanding, must carry out
a grammatical analysis and create such constructions correctly. The
process of language acquisition is multi-faceted, but in practice very often
this process is limited to the passive reproduction of vocabulary, without
understanding of these rules (Tomaszewski, 2000: 24).

Learning the skill of speech reading from the mouth is not easy.
Hearing people are often unaware of a vast array of factors, constituting
impediment to mastering that skill. For example, in Polish, the articulation
visible in the mouth movement is only in 30% of sounds. In addition,
many sounds have very similar articulatory configurations (Wójcik, 2008:
73). Also, the correct reading of a word does not necessarily imply that the
word has been correctly comprehended. The person lip-reading the
message should be in a position to focus their attention on the message;
and visual perception should not be disturbed. Some knowledge of the
vocabulary is required, which is associated with the recipient's previous
language experience.

Of crucial importance is also observing factors propitious for lip-
reading in face-to-face communication. This subsumes, among others,
providing the appropriate lighting of the message sender, maintaining the
appropriate distance between interlocutors or controlling for the number of
interlocutors. On the other hand, we can also mention the importance of
the elimination of factors which might disturb and blur the message, e.g.
wearing a beard, the lack of teeth, head turns, bodily movements such as
an inclination, speaking too fast / too slowly, emphatic pronunciation or
blurred articulation (Wójcik, 2008: 73). Ensuring factors fostering speech-
reading and eliminating the disturbances is often impossible to achieve in
an ordinary face-to-face interaction.

Bearing in mind these factors, it is no small wonder that the education
of deaf children in Poland and worldwide for many years has been the
subject of heated dispute and discussion, focused around the choice
between oral education and the education by means of sign language.
Quite frequently deaf children are perceived as less capable than their
hearing peers, or even as delayed in their development. The
underperformance, needless to say, ensues from badly designed
educational programs and not from the hearing impairments per se. The
educational system for the deaf in Poland currently allows for two options.
Deaf children and children with hearing loss can either enroll in special

who followed the oralist program shows that 75% of deaf children at the age of
four possessed the lexical repertoire of the corresponding child of the age of two.

schools for children with hearing impairment, or they can be mainstreamed in normal public schools. In public schools, they are educated as the part of integrated education (the so-called *integrative schools*, [Pol.] 'szkoły integracyjne') or as the part of inclusive education (*comprehensive schools* [Pol.] 'szkoły ogólnodostępne'). It is the parent who chooses the school, guided by the good of their child. However, their decisions are based on the expert panels, who, by voicing their opinions on the PJM, shape societal attitudes towards it. Their opinions, as was mentioned before are largely unfavorable. Parents often perceive negatively special schools, since they have the choice of a regular school as contradistinction to the "special" one. Attending a normal public school means avoiding the stigma of going to a special school. Moreover, such considerations are often accompanied by the fear of a low level of instruction in special schools, which directly relates to smaller chances in further vocational or educational paths after graduating from such a school (Sack, 2011: 73).

The community of the Deaf has recently been calling for the introduction of the bilingualism program to schools (cf. Grzesiak, 2006; Świdziński, 2003).[15] Bilingualism implies the assumption that for Deaf community the first language (native language) is the PJM, while the standard Polish is the second (foreign language – PFL) since it is acquired with the linguistic awareness of the child. Sign language should thus be present during the development of a deaf child. The acquisition of the sign language as the mother tongue largely facilitates the acquisition of another language (Tomaszewski 2005).[16]

Properly introduced bilingualism can lead to palpable benefits in the functioning of the Deaf within the society. It is important for a child to have exposure to a language starting from their earliest years. Due to the dominant and often unique visual modality of the contact with the external world in the case of children with hearing impairments, which is often accompanied by the inability to receive any auditory stimuli, sign language becomes a natural and most viable communication means, grounded in the overall psychological ecology of the child. Of course, to fully avail of that modality, a deaf child needs linguistic models, which are naturally acquired from the parents. This acquisition can be problematic

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[15] Currently an immense advancement of bilingual education for the deaf is done in through the project initiated by Magdalena Dunaj
(http://www.pzg.lodz.pl/edukacja).

[16] As a side comment it can be mentioned that hearing-impaired people with implants or hearing aids, not knowing any other communicative resource (lip-reading or a sign language), are completely at a loss in situations when the implant of a hearing aid is to become disabled (e.g.in a swimming pool).

and difficult in cases where the deaf child has hearing parents. Hence, the key problem with the assumption of bilingualism is the fact that 90% of deaf children have hearing parents, which hinders the natural acquisition of this language. Another problem is the fact that in order to implement a bilingual curriculum at schools, it is necessary to comprehensively describe the Polish Sign Language, elaborate dictionaries and manuals (cf. Grzesiak, 2006), yet this type of work has not been completed so far.[17]

2. The Polish Sign Language: state of the art

Sign language is a natural language of a visual and spatial character, whose reception is based on the visual charmel. Visual-spatial languages have their particular grammars and phonologies. Just as all natural languages, the Polish Sign Language (*Polski Język Migowy*, PJM) is characterized by double articulation – it has grammar and signs (Tomaszewski and Rosik, 2002: 134). Just as phonic languages, it has its phonology and morphology and particular constituent signs have their internal structure. Double articulation means that on the first level of articulation, the smallest distinctive segments that do not carry meaning of their own, combing into morphemes – signs carrying meaning. These visual morphemes combine into larger visual-spatial sentences, which Tomaszewski and Rosiak assign to the second level of articulation (Tomaszewski and Rosiak, 2003: 136).

The nature of the constituent signs in the PJM is generally speaking twofold: there are dactylographic signs and the ideographic ones. We propose to introduce the name 'signeme' as a direct sign language correspondent to the word 'lexeme'. Ideography are 'signemes' characteristic only the PJM (usually of iconic nature), while dactylography relies on the spelling of particular lexemes taken from standard Polish. Often PJM signemes have a doublet status, which means that a particular signeme can be signed by dactylography or ideography. General distinctive feature classification of PJM signs function was proposed first by Tomaszewski and Rosik, basing on William Stokoe (1978), proposing specific sublexical categories and grammaticalization patterns (Tomaszewski and Rosik, 2003: 136ff). [18] There are two other signematic systems that function alongside PJM: Signed Polish SP (Pol. *system językowo-migowy*

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[17] A telling fact is that since the above cited papers by Grzesiak or Tomaszewski were published (e.g. 2005), more than a decade has elapsed, yet there seems to be no change in the official situation at all.

[18] For an exhaustive account of some aspects of Stokoe's contribution to SL, see Salazar-García [this volume].

(henceforth: SJM) and Polish Pidgin Sign language (Pol. *polski migowy typu pidgin PMP*).

Due to the above-mentioned meagre popularity of the PJM amongst Polish linguists, as well as societal attitude of its marginalization,[19] it is difficult to assess how many constituent signs currently there are in the PJM. Moreover, just as in any natural language, new signemes are being constantly created and some are falling into disuse.[20] It should be emphasized that from the everyday perspective of therapy practitioners (see also Kossowska, 2017), a lot of Polish specialists working in the field of hearing impairments and rehabilitation tend to question the legitimacy of using the sign language, indicating the possible hindrance to the child's phonic speech revalidation and development.[21] In extreme, a sign language is perceived as a set of more or less natural gestures deprived of the linguistic dimension. However, it has been shown that the use of a sign language stimulates the same brain areas as the use of a phonic language (cf. Sacks [2012: 146]; see also Kossowska [2016]).

In the elaboration of the perception test discussed subsequently, three types of loans were taken into account (after Tomaszewski [2005: 44ff]), referring to contact between the phonic and visual modality of linguistic transmission:

1. lexicographical loan-words from Polish – loans from Polish signed with the use of finger alphabet – the first and the last letter from Polish word are being signed;
2. Translated loans – loan translations, which were created according to the semantic pattern of the Polish language;
3. Signed initials – characters, whose form refers to the dactylographic shape of the first letter of the Polish word.

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[19] Apart from the already mentioned fact that there is no course book for Polish Sign Language, quite frequent are the situations, where teachers in Polish special schools for the deaf and hard of hearing children do not know sign language at all, nor are they required to master it.
[20] As Tomaszewski and Rosik point out, "PJM is so productive that constantly there come into being new signs to denote new referents, for example, morpheme clusters consisting of two lexical mophemes" (Tomaszewski and Rosik, 2003: 153)
[21] The widespread view that the use of gestures during the transmission of a message inhibits the development of verbal speech is very common, albeit erroneous. It has been proven that all non-verbal behaviors of the child (both haring and deaf ones) are conducive to the development of language, both in hearing and deaf children (cf. e.g. Millar, Light, Schlosser, 2006). See also Puppel, J. (2014) on the importance of 'gestosphere' in communication.

3. The Deaf community as a communicative community in the ecologically deficient environment

According to Tomaszewski, people who are culturally deaf do not perceive themselves as pertaining to a 'disability group' but to a particular cultural group. Sometimes they call themselves members of Deaf community. As the scholar further observes, as a result, these people are often called "a linguistic and socio-cultural minority group", bound by the cultural characteristic of a sign language (Tomaszewski, 2007: 6).

We follow Puppel (e.g. 2010) in applying the theory of language as a natural resource. The scholar defines the ecological approach to languages ('language ecology') as the study of the interaction of natural languages with their environment and points out that this discipline takes as its focus "the full complexity and interrelatedness of all the process which are activated and combined in order to produce the dynamic relationships of any natural language" (Puppel, 2010: 165). This perspective posits language as: "[a] real biology-based entity which has been constructed socially and culturally and with the purpose of providing a dialogically-oriented service to the meta-community of humanity as a part of more general ecosystem services" (Puppel, 2010: 165-166). Communication resources are defined as "repositories over which human agents exert smaller or greater control and which must be activated in the communication process if the process is to ensue and run in due course" (Puppel, 2004: 5). We will review some of the educational challenges of the deaf culture against these tenets.

Another crucial for the present study concept is 'a communicative community' (Pol. *wspólnota komunikatywna*) [22] which was developed by Ludwick Zabrocki. [23] In Zabrocki's terminology, a communicative community constitutes a driving force for creating particular communicative means. In that Zabrocki openly went against his structuralist peers, stating that structuralism, operating only on language as an immanent whole (*ergon*), cannot offer any explanation for the dynamic nature of the creation and decline of particular dialects or languages. By means of the concept of the communicative community, Zabrocki already in the early 60s aims to shift the linguistic focus from *ergon* to *Energeia* and to the human factor in language change and exchange. For Zabrocki, the social bond which is constitutive of a communicative community, usually does

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[22] The scholar admits that the terms was coined and introduced by A. Bach as ("Verkehrsgemeinschaft").
[23] Of course we are aware of a plethora of current work on the communicative contact, but we are entitled to use the earliest reference.

not directly influence the inner structure of a language (e.g. phonetics as the most closed structure, similar to phonology or syntax), but it does have the potential to influence it indirectly. This impact is predominantly felt on the most open linguistic structure, which, according to Zabrocki, is the lexicon (1963: 10).

To that type of tectonics in Zabrocki's theory, there is another superimposed dimension, namely the one which Zabrocki calls "the social function *sui generis*" (Zabrocki, 1963: 11). This dimension becomes activated in the type of linguistic contact where one community is evaluated higher than another: "[i]n the case where there is no contact between two communicative communities possessing different conventional communicating means, there is no additional valuation of these structures from the societal point of view" (Zabrocki, 1963: 11). Very importantly, for Zabrocki, a communicative community is the base on which particular languages or dialects are formed. Various types of communicative communities are hierarchically arranged on a macro level. The scholar also focusses on the substantive nature of communication, whereby the need for communication must be fulfilled as a prerequisite, and for that purpose specific communicative means are employed. These means can, for example, include signing and phonic substance (Zabrocki, 1963: 12).

Hence, the result of a concretely realized communicative need is a substantial communicative means. Conversely, the apparition of this means is also tantamount to the existence of a communicative community. There are several types of communicative communities in Zabrocki's theory. For the present thematic scope the distinction into tight and loose communities is crucial. As Zabrocki points out, each communicative community strives for creating a uniform communicative means and by that, aims to eliminate differences in intra-community communication. In that aspect, loose communities do not exert a unifying influence on the communicative means to the extent the tight communities do (Zabrocki, 1963: 14). Taking into account these criteria, it can be posited that a Deaf community constitutes a type of a communicative community.

However, there are several specific facets of communication processes within this community that make it a loose community, or even a community type that might be called *diasporic*. First of all, several communicative means coexist within this culture, without any connectedness.[24] A member of that community can use any (or all) of the following resources:

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[24] A caveat is in order here. In canonical terms, the ground for of belonging to Deaf culture is the ability to use the sign language (naturally, some members sign the SJM, but since they were raised in the dormitories of OSW (Pol. *ośrodki szkolno-*

- communicate with the Polish Sign Language (Pol. *język migowy, PJM*);
- communicate by learned speech and speech-reading of Polish;
- communicate by the Signed Polish *SJM*)

but the basic determinant as far as the identity of the Deaf culture is concerned, is the ability to converse in the PJM. Moreover, this community is not regionally-based and frequently it is not family-based. It is entrenched within a larger national community of the Polish state, but the decision which communicative means a child and a future adult would adopt, is made by their parents, basing on the academic ambience predominant at the moment. This choice is made regardless of the region the child lives in or a dialect/ variety of Polish the parents speak if they are hearing. As a result, for example, deaf children even living in the same area, might not be able to communicate with each other, if one was taught to lip read and the other wields only sign language and if implanting has not been a viable solution for them. On the other hand, at some point of the education process, these children might meet, for example, in the same integrational/ public or a special school, where their communicative problems might become only more acute.

To that we might add the aspect of AAC (augmentative and alternative communication) education as such, whereupon, as Kossowska (2016) has shown, sign language is used with success to communicate with and to educate for example autistic children. On top of that, there are hearing children born of deaf parents, who acquired sign language as their first language from their parents. Not having been being exposed to phonic speech in infancy, those children learned phonic Polish only later in their linguistic development. They usually identify themselves, in spite of the fact of being hearing and proficient in phonic speech, as belonging to the Deaf community. Hence, Deaf culture in Poland, might definitely be called a loose community of a diasporic character: dispersed among the dominating communicative community of the hearing communities in the varieties of the Polish language, interlaced with multifaceted identity

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wychowawcze) often they might not be aware of the difference between the two systems). However, criteria for establishing group identity for Deaf culture are much more intricate and multifaceted. For example, using PJM as AAC nor necessarily means joining the Deaf culture. Hence, the criterion of the use of the sign language might be treated as a sort of general guideline for determining group identity. As a rule of a thumb in negative terms, it can be said that a person who does not wield PJM cannot be considered to belong to the deaf community, regardless of their hearing condition status.

issues, forced to relate constantly to mainstream phonic environment, even if that environment is not accessible to them.

Focusing on the sign language as a natural resource within what Puppel (2010) calls "the linguistic space", it might be observed, that even assuming common knowledge of that medium in the interlocutory act, the pragmatic range of those acts seems to be impoverished. It means that the PJM would not be normally used e.g. to order a meal in a Polish restaurant, to buy a train ticket or ask a passer-by for the nearest pharmacy. Pragmatic contexts for face-to-face communication are drastically narrowed. Hence, PJM has the status of a foreign language in spite of the fact that it is the first language for Polish nationals. It thus can be called a resource outside of its ecological environment. [25]

4. The research procedure and the research instrument

As indicated in Section 2, the quantitative linguistic, ecological and sociolinguistic research into Deaf culture in Poland seems to be lacking. Such studies are immensely intricate, both to design and to carry out. Moreover, it is usually not possible to reach a large representative sample for the study. We aimed to address that gap by designing a pilot perception study, focused on the level of the comprehension of the Polish language among Polish young adults with hearing disability and some aspects of the language contact between Standard Polish and the PJM.

The research instrument was prepared by Agnieszka Kossowska and Aleksandra Włodarczak and administered by Aleksandra Włodarczak in February 2018 having obtained the required permissions from appropriate educational authorities. The subjects were aged 18 – 24 (the secondary education in special schools for the deaf can take longer than the public education) [26] and attended final grade of two special schools for deaf and hard of hearing children, in Poznań and in Kalisz (Poland). [27] Here lies the first impediment to conducting this type of research. Usually, within one special school there are not enough students to meet the criteria of a respondent cohort. On the other hand, resorting to several different educational establishments also has a cost of introducing additional variables, such as e.g. idiosyncratic level and method of instruction. The choice of educational establishments for collecting the data was motivated

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[25] There is another problematic issue, namely communicating in writing, but it will not be addressed in this chapter.

[26] We controlled for the gender criterion in the questionnaire but in this stage of the research this aspect was not taken into account.

[27] (Pol.) *ośrodki szkolno-wychowawcze.*

by the regional and dialectal variegation of the PJM. This language, as any other natural language, shows regionally based differences. By choosing schools located not far away from each other (within the same voivodship) we sought to avoid the possible interference of different regionally based signing variants.[28]

In the introductory part the respondents were asked a question about their medical status (hard-of-hearing or deaf), a question about the medical status of their parents (deaf, hard-of-hearing or hearing). The questionnaire also included the point 'which is your preferred communication means'? (PJM or Polish). The main questionnaire was administered in two steps. The first stage was in three parts and was prepared basing on the above exposed categories of loans elaborated by Tomaszewski (2005). In the second stage the students were given a standard placement test for Polish as a foreign language. Since answers were anonymous, to correlate the results of the test with the subsequent second state, they were given at once the whole questionnaire.

The research procedure for the main questionnaire was the following. The respondents who were present in the classrooms of the two above-mentioned schools were shown the predetermined set of stimuli in the form of particular PJM signs, performed by Aleksandra Włodarczak. To eliminate any possible intervening perception variables and ensure the same quality of signemes, the signs were recorded beforehand and shown to the respondents on overhead projector as short films. Some of the items are listed in the appendix 1 for illustrative purposes). For the section 1) and 3) of this part of a research tool, the respondents were to choose the correct option as a multiple choice answer amongst five, one of which was "I do not know this sign". The second section of the second part was to show how often they use particular signemes: whether they prefer the loan or a PJM sign, but the results at this stage were not conclusive and that strand of research is left for further refinement. Henceforth we will concentrate on the analysis of the results for the section one and three from the second part.

Two types of dactylographic loans used in section 1 of the research instrument are grouped under 1) and 2). The group under 1) comprised ordinary dactylography (where the first and the last letter is signed):

1)   a. JUICE   (Pol.) *sok*
         b. GAS   (Pol.) *gaz*
         c.MOVEMENT (Pol.) *ruch*

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[28] For example, in PJM, the signeme for (disability) PENSION (Pol. *renta*) can take as many as seven different forms.

        d. MAY   (Pol.) *maj* 'May' [the month])
        e. NO   (Pol.) *nie*
        f. MASTER   (Pol.) *magister* (academic title – M.A.)

The second group comprised also initialized loans, but in that type of signemes only the first letter is signed:

2)   a. TUESDAY   (Pol.) *wtorek*
        b. OPPORTUNITY   (Pol.) *okazja*
        c.HOTEL   (Pol.) *hotel*
        d. IT-IS-POSSIBLE   (Pol.) *można*
        e. PEOPLE   (Pol.) *ludzie*

The third part of the questionnaire featured four of what Tomaszewski calls 'translated loans' – idiomatic fixed expressions calqued from Polish (structural calques or dead metaphoric expressions).[29]

3)   a. CLEAR CONSCIENCE   (Pol.) *czyste sumienie* –
                                 'clean conscience'
        b. HONEYMOON   (Pol.) *miesiąc   miodowy*
                                   'honey month'
        c. BAD WEATHER   (Pol.)   *brzydka pogoda* 'ugly
                                   weather'
        d. DO-NOT-HAVE TIME   (Pol.) *nie-mieć czasu* 'do
                                   not have time'.

An important caveat should be made at this point regarding the architecture of the conducted research: we report a pilot study only. The study was not conducted on a representative group of respondents and its results should not be translated into the totality of the population of deaf and hard-of-hearing persons. The qualification regarding the medical status of the respondents was determined solely on the basis of subjective opinion of the respondents. In other words, the respondents themselves, according to their personal consideration, declared themselves as deaf or hard of hearing. Finally, an important factor that may have affected the obtained results of the study is the real level of language proficiency of the respondents in the PJM. Unfortunately, we could not control for that factor because at the moment there is no instrument that would allow to measure fluency in the Polish Sign Language.

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[29] For an exhaustive typology of borrowings see e.g. Witalisz (2007).

5. Results and discussion

5.1 Overview of respondents' profile

Table 1 juxtaposes the results according to the adopted taxonomy of loans against the contextualizing information on the respondents. First of all, the table shows a divergence with the above cited statistics for Deaf community, namely with the claim that 90% of deaf and hearing-impaired children have hearing parents. The data in Table 1 show that a little over 30% of respondents have parents with hearing impairments, which gives a figure of 70 % for the hearing ones. However, there is a natural explanation for that divergence with the previously reported official statistics. The respondents were students of special schools for the deaf and hearing-impaired children. The result simply confirms a natural psychological fact that hearing-impaired parents, who must have had less experience with the public schools themselves, prefer their children to stick more Deaf community which they know more, and which they expect to find in a special school. Also, as deaf themselves, these parents might feel that that would not be able to help their offspring with problems in an integrational or a plain public school. Conversely, we would expect the rate of more than 90% of hearing parents if children mainstreamed into public schools were polled.

As evident from Table 1, there is no correlation at all between the background parameters, that is, the medical status of respondents, medical status of their parents, their proficiency in Polish and their preferred means of communication. In other words, the table in this respect almost shows the so-called negative results (cf. Walach, 2009). It practically means that a hearing impaired child can attain higher levels of proficiency in Polish regardless of the medical condition of the parents and conversely, the fact of having hearing parents does not correlate with higher proficiency level in spoken Polish. This confirms the postulated claims that Deaf culture is a communitive community of a diasporic nature, not tightly associated to family background. On the other hand, with the caveat of a small quantity of the data, the table can be said to show a certain tendency: apart of a solitary answer marking identification with bilingual resources in the A2 level, personal identification with Polish as the primary/ equal status to PJM actually starts on the B2 level of proficiency. Conversely, the fact that children of hearing parents, most possibly exposed to oralism, passed the proficiency test on A2 level, also confirms the problematic status of education with the aural method.

Table 1. Breakdown of the results according to the types of loans and the level of proficiency in Polish.

	Medical condition of the respondent	Respondent's parents hearing condition	Preferred language of communication	Proficiency level in Polish	lexicographical loan-words from Polish (the number of correctly read tokens) out of six max 6	Translated loans (the number of correctly read tokens) out of Max 4	Signed initials (the number of correctly read tokens) max 5
1	hard of hearing	deaf	PJM	A2	4	1	5
2	deaf	hearing	PJM	A2	4	1	5
3	hard of hearing	hearing	PJM / Polish	A2	4	0	5
4	deaf	deaf	PJM	A2	4	2	5
5	deaf	hearing	PJM	A2	4	1	5
6	deaf	hearing	PJM	A2	4	2	4
7	deaf	deaf	PJM	B1	4	1	5
8	deaf	deaf	PJM	B1	6	1	5
9	deaf	deaf	PJM	B1	5	2	5
10	hard of hearing	hearing	PJM	B1	4	2	5
11	deaf	hearing	PJM	B1	5	2	5
12	deaf	hearing	PJM	B1	4	2	5
13	deaf	hearing	Polish	B1	4	1	4
14	hard of hearing	hearing	PJM	B1	4	2	5

15	hard of hearing	hearing	PJM	B2	4	2	4
16	hard of hearing	hearing	**Polish**	B2	4	0	5
17	deaf	deaf	PJM	B2	5	3	4
18	deaf	hearing	PJM	B2	5	2	5
19	deaf	hearing	Polish	B2	5	2	5
20	hard of hearing	hearing	PJM / **Polish**	B2	4	1	5
21	hard of hearing	hearing	PJM / **Polish**	C1	4	0	5
22	hard of hearing	hard of hearing	PJM	C1	3	0	4
23	hard of hearing	hearing	**Polish**	C2	3	0	3

Proficiency in Polish of the respondents

C2 4%
C1 9%
A2 26%
B2 26%
B1 35%
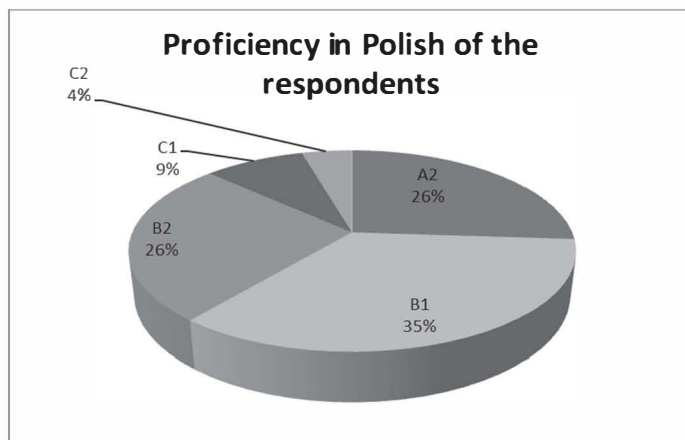
Figure 1. Breakdown according to the proficiency in Polish of the respondents

5.2 Results for the translated loans (semantic calques of Polish idiomatic expressions)

As far as the main results are concerned, the greatest difficulty in understanding borrowings was observed for language calques (translated loans). The highest repeatability can be seen in 10 respondents who have correctly marked 2 responses out of 4. The following calques were the most problematic: CLEAR-CONSCIENCE and HONEYMOON. Correct readings were obtained for BAD WEATHER and DO-NOT-HAVE TIME. Only one person correctly read three expressions: HONEYMOON, BAD WEATHER and DO NOT HAVE TIME. The person did not recognize only the CLEAR CONSCIENCE phrase. Five respondents (almost 22%) did not correctly recognize any claques – these were people who passed the language proficiency test in Polish at levels A2, B2 and B1. What is more important, the only respondents (3) who obtained the score for the advanced level in Polish at level C – two respondents on C1, and one on C2 – did not recognize any of the signed calques. There seems to be no correlation between the diagnosed by the official test the proficiency level of Standard Polish and their recognition of calqued fixed-phrase loans. The possible explanation could be that those respondents – although one of them gave PJM as their preferred means of communication – might simply not have recognized the constituent signemes and, as already

stated, we did not have any formal instrument to measure their real proficiency in the PJM to make a correlation.
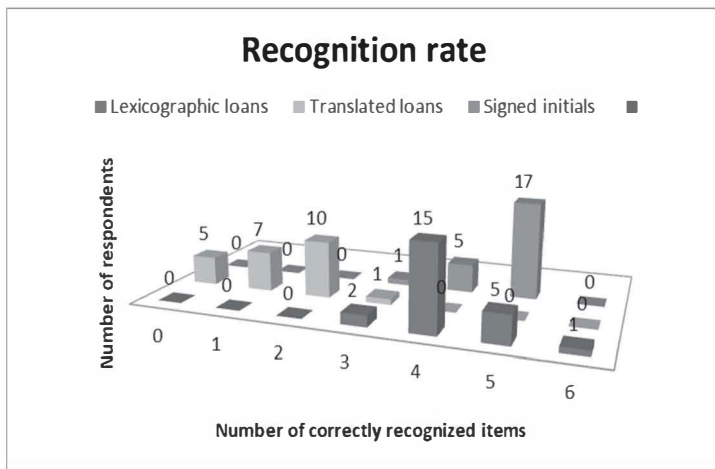
Figure 2. Recognition rate for particular types of loans

5.3. Results for dactylographic loans

The comparison of recognition rate for the three types of loans is shown in Fig. 2. The juxtaposition is of mainly illustrative value, since there were different numbers of items for each category (6/4/5).

The group of dactylographic loans, comprising both lexicographical loan words from Polish and signed initials, as the results show, place relatively close to one another and show a clear contrast with the translated loans group. In the group of dactylographic borrowings, the results are as follows:

1 person 6/6 good answers
5 people 5/6 good answers
15 people 4/6 good answers
2 people 3/6 of good answers

The reading of the sign KIOSK and M.A. DEGREE HOLDER posed the biggest difficulty. Neither of them was recognized among the respondents who made errors (95,6%). Additionally, two students incorrectly recognized the signs JUICE and NO. Those respondents have

demonstrated language proficiency in Polish of C1 and C2 levels respectively.

5.4. Results for signed initials

Characters initialized from the first letter were identified with the best results compared to the other types (the third row in Fig. 2). 17 respondents correctly read 5/5 characters. 5 respondents scored 4/5 (in 4 cases the ●KAZJA mark was not correctly read, in 1 case H●TEL). 1 respondent reached the score 3/5 (erroneously read signs are ●CCASI●N and H●TEL).

A possible explanation for the best recognition rate is that, semiotically speaking, such a signage type has the greatest saliency. The situation when one letter (the initial one) from *code 1* stands for the whole lexeme (signeme) in *code 2* is semiotically a very intricate situation. This one mimetic shape is an epitome of *a figure* in Gestalt psychology. Significantly, it is just the initial letter that was chosen to stand for a particular lexeme. In accordance with the Natural Phonology tenets (e.g. Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, 1995), "for an act of perceiving to take place, we need to see, hear, sense or taste a figure against the ground, i.e. we need a binary contrast between the elements we are exposed to. What we then perceive is B●TH a figure and a ground, not as a unit, but as two bound elements" (Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, 1995: 62). In other words, it is as if a direct parallel with the strongest acoustic cues for the word-initial position was at work here. ●n the other hand, as the results show, such a configuration was also identified most efficiently, regardless of the sign language proficiency of the respondents. This might confirm Natural Phonology tenets, in particular the line of inquiry relying on the adaptation of the neuropsychological model of self-organization of processes (cf. Dressler and Karpf, 1995 as cited by Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, 1995: 49).

6. Conclusions

●ur pilot study probed into a multilingual repertoire of a small community of students of two special schools for deaf and hard of hearing children. We cast the results against the concept of a communicative community by Ludwik Zabrocki, coupled with the ecological work of Stanisław Puppel. The results, even at this sampling level, point to some misbalances. Respondents had difficulties in reading correctly loanwords from standard Polish in the sign language in a structured test (a list of signs).

Taking into account the criteria established by Zabrocki, the Deaf in Poland would constitute the example of a communicative community, however, with multifarious dimensions of skewing. First of all, as exposed in the introduction, due to the lack of a uniform and optimal educational approach, the Deaf are put in a sort intralingual limbo. In other words, the fact of being deaf does not necessarily mean that a child can easily communicate with another deaf child, even assuming that the native tongue of their respective parents is in both cases Polish. Simply, if the parent of one child decides to rely on the oral method, the child has no exposure to a spatial (sign) language. To that, we need to aggregate the community of children with associated impairments, who, as shown in Kossowska (2016), although they have no hearing impairments as such, the communication via sign language is much more successful that by using the phonic medium. Finally, there are users, teachers and teachers of sign language, usually a community of hearing parents, who have mastered the sign language to facilitate communicating with their offspring.

We can thus see the imbrication of various influencing cofactors, deterring communication amongst children with hearing impairments. This problem is aggravated when brought into a classroom environment. In regular public schools, the naturally occurring and predominant communication is through the sonic layer, the natural linguistic resource of public school children. In special schools for children with hearing impairments, a class can consist of e.g. several pupils conversing only in the PJM, several without any knowledge of this language, relying only on visual input and communicating by the acquired articulatory movements of speech organs. To that, we might add communication in the SJM. Moreover, lip reading of pupils who cannot hear themselves speak and often do not articulate properly the sounds, can also be far from optimal. The fact that that in regular schools deaf pupils do not have any specialist provisions, is in a way understandable. Yet, to that we must add the commonly occurring situation that even teachers in special schools for the deaf in Poland do have any skills in signing, and usually are not required at all to learn the sign language. The results of our pilot study shed some light on the consequences.

First of all, they show the real level of proficieny in phonic Polish for young adults, who, having spent their whole life in Poland, are about to take their Matura (secondary school leaving) exam in Polish – 26% on A2 level and 35 % on B1. It must be recalled that the respondents were aged 18-24, spending all their lives in the environment of a Polish speaking society, usually having hearing parents, and were actually finishing their

educational life. Hence, the level of Polish they scored in the school leaving grade is actually the final level they were about to attain. Relating to the precepts of the ecology of education as exposed e.g. by Puppel (1999) it is evident that the current status of the education of the deaf children constitutes a total refutation of any of the ecological and holistic ideals. For example, Braud (2015: 666, as cited in Bogusławska-Tafelska (2017: 72) points out that education, understood as complexity of human transaction involving teaching, knowing and learning, is not limited to getting information. It is about hearing and wholeness, aiming at empowerment and integration. With that in mind, the classroom situation where the teacher cannot communicate almost all with his/her pupils and moreover, the pupils often have problems communicating with each other, points to the need to re-evaluate and perhaps re-design the education course for that societal slice.

Secondly, there are some conclusions to be drawn from the results of the main test, relating to the semiotic dimension of cognitive processing. The largest difficulty was posed by the calques (dead metaphors) of Polish collocations, such as e.g. HONEYMOON or BAD WEATHER. The results for the calques visibly stood out from the remaining two categories. In Dressler's terminology, translated loans would constitute the most marked, morphologized concatenations. It should be pointed out here that PJM has its own metaphorical dimension and there are also idiomatic expressions in that language, which in PJM have a unisigmematic form but their translation into Polish would require several lexemes (Tomaszewski and Rosik, 2003: 152). Conversely, the highest recognition rate was for signed initials: loan segments, consisting of signing in the iconic form just the initial letter of a given Polish word. In Wolfgang Dressler's framework, they would be called the most iconic, most relating to the figure and ground principle. The recognition rate in general was not related to the medial status of the parents, of the respondents (hard of hearing or deaf) nor to their level of proficiency in standard Polish. The results for this group are in a way counterintuitive: loans signed by an iconic version of two letters were less frequently recognized than loans which are singed by just one letter. Here we can see example of a semiotic code at work: pragmatically speaking, the more cues given for a lexeme, the better its recognition rate should be. However, definitely we have a case for semiotic saliency of the figure, which is more important than additional phonemic cues.

Against these criteria, the community of the Deaf was shown to be a diasporic, a loose communicative community, ecologically imbalanced due to the lack of consensus in the educational procedures. The proposed

solution was fostering bilingualism, whereby the sign language would be officially acquired as the first language for a deaf child and the acquisition of other languages (spoken Polish or others) would proceed with learners having already access to the gestural mode. The recognition of the sign language could also be envisaged as widening teaching strategies, whereupon in normal schools there would be instruction of that language available for hearing peers

Although we had an instrument to measure their proficiency in Polish (a standard placement test for students of Polish as a foreign language), we did not have any tool to evaluate their proficiency in the Polish sign language, due to the above mentioned fact that there is no descriptive grammar elaborated for that variety at all, and there has been no itnergratioon into CEFR done for the PJM[1] hence no placement test available. This is a considerable limitation of this study, but until there are formal descriptions of the Polish sign language, it will not be amended. On the other hand, the more pronounced seems to be the need to undertake, theorize and disseminate the analyses of the communicative resource naturally acquired by the Deaf in the form of a sign language.

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[1] For example, such integration has been done for French Sign language as well as for the Spanish Sign Language, as an adapted translation from the French one. See also work by Ventura Salazar García (e.g. 2010).

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Appendix

Sample signs which were shown to students as a part of the research instrument. Photos – © **Aleksandra Włodarczak**.

Picture 1   Picture 2   Picture 3
1 MAGISTER   MIESIĄC MIODOWY-1   MIESIĄC MIODOWY-2

Picture 4   Picture 5   Picture 6
MOŻNA   NIE   NIE MIEĆ CZASU-1

Picture 7
NIE MIEĆ CZASU-2

Picture 8
OKAZJA

Picture 9
WTOREK

PART TWO:

MAINSTREAM INTERDISCIPLINARY LANGUAGE STUDIES: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, NEOSTRUCTURALISM, CULTURAL LINGUISTICS

Is Sequentiality a Valid Feature for Sign Languages?

Ventura Salazar-García

Abstract

Sequentiality, also known as linearity, is one of the design features that have been proposed for characterising human language semiotically. It is generally considered to be a valid feature for oral languages, albeit with a few nuances. However, the general tendency has been to reject its applicability to the sign languages used by deaf communities. It has been proposed that these languages make use of simultaneous codification (Stokoe 1960), or double design: sequential in linguistic terms, and simultaneous in non-linguistic terms (Liddell & Johnson 1989). The purpose of the present work is to show the inadequacy of these suggestions and to offer arguments in favour of the validity of sequentiality as a design feature of sign languages. The difference between oral languages and sign languages can be explained in the sphere of the Output Component (cf. Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008: 6), without appealing to specific codification mechanisms. As such, both modes reveal an essential congruence from a phonological point of view, with dynamic patterns that ultimately follow a sequential organisation.

Key terms: Sign languages, design features, sequentiality or linearity, simultaneity, sign language phonology

1. Introduction

In recent years, the sign languages (henceforth SLs) used by deaf communities have been receiving increasing attention. On an academic level, scientific research into SLs has been firmly established for over half a century, and everything indicates that it will continue to grow steadily in

the future.[1] In spite of these advances, however, it is still necessary to vindicate SLs as systems through which the faculty of language can be observed in deaf communities. This necessity is motivated by the fact that SLs have not yet been accepted as a bona fide object of analysis within the field of Linguistics. There are persistent traces of the opinion that we are looking at two fields of research that are essentially autonomous: on the one hand, Linguistics of oral languages (henceforth OLs), which would be the larger and more established of the two; and, on the other hand, a much more nascent Linguistics of SLs, which would have a *special* or *peripheral* nature, closer to Semiotics than to Linguistics in a strict sense (cf. Salazar 2010: 206-208).

The debate surrounding the linguistic nature of visual gestural languages used by deaf communities essentially revolves around human language being defined in terms of a series of *design features*. These are understood to shape the appearance and functionality of languages as systems of signs. The theoretical rationale supporting this idea can be attributed to the American linguist Charles F. Hockett, who disseminated it in numerous publications (among others, Hockett 1958: 552-566; 1960; 1963; Hockett and Altmann, 1968). In his opinion, all systems of communication could be analysed by virtue of their design features, but only natural human languages completely fulfilled the list that he proposed. Other codes, whether human or animal, shared some of these features with human languages, but never all of them. The list that Hockett offered varied between publications, ranging from seven to sixteen. The version that has probably been disseminated the most (cf. Hockett 1958: 552-566) is made up of a total of fifteen. For his part, Serrano (1981: 52-67) – collating Hockett's contributions with those of other authors such as Thorpe (1974), Lyons (1977: 70-85), etc. – notes a total of nineteen features, making his one of the longest lists to be found.

The theory about design features has motivated a widespread controversy and has been the object of well-founded critiques (cf., for example, Akmajian *et al.* 1979: 79). Particularly problematic is its interpretation of the differences between human language and animal communication systems solely in gradual and quantitative terms. Nevertheless, it does offer a simple tool that can easily be put into practice empirically when establishing the general semiotic nature of natural languages. These advantages have allowed this approach to continue to dominate up to the present time despite its undeniable theoretical limitations.

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[1] For a historical review of the origins of the Linguistics of SLs, cf. Morales (2000) and Herrero (2002).

A cursory look at SLs highlights the fact that they do fulfil a large number of the features mentioned by Hockett, but at the same time it proves the impossibility of applying the entire list to them. There is therefore a discrepancy between OLs and SLs in this field, one which is especially visible in the first features, relating to the transmission channel. According to Hockett (1958: 552-555), there are three features that refer directly to the channel used in the transmission and reception of messages. Of them, only the first feature (*vocal-auditory channel*) is truly meaningful, since the other two – *broadcast transmission and directional reception*, on the one hand, and *rapid fading* or *transitoriness* on the other – must be understood simply as corollaries. SLs only fulfil the *rapid fading* criterion, but not the other two criteria; their transmission channel is visuo-gestural and consequently both the transmission and the reception are directional. A mechanical, acritical application of Hockett's suggestions clinches the issue, concluding that the two modes are distinct and that SLs cannot be considered genuine manifestations of the human faculty of language. Fundamentally, this is how the subject has been approached – at least in practical terms – until relatively recently. A more balanced study reveals that the *raison d'etre* of transmission channels is merely operative. On its own, this does not tell us anything relevant with respect to the ultimate rationale of human languages. Proof of this is that the vocal-auditory channel, despite being the prototypical, natural channel of OLs, is far from being the only one. Throughout history various substitutory transmission codes have been culturally generated in order to satisfy certain specific needs. Thanks to these, all messages developed in any oral language can easily be translated to other channels, without altering the content of the message or the essence of its idiomatic structure: visual channels (writing, Morse code), tactile channels (Braille), etc. In short, placing undue value on vocal-auditory transmission leads us to an excessively reductionist conception of languages and their potential as instruments for social interaction.

Initial research into SLs, which focussed mainly on American Sign Language (henceforth ASL), argued convincingly that both visuo-gestural transmission and vocal-auditory transmission share all the design features that are truly relevant to the foundation of a concept of *humanly possible language* (cf. Supalla 1982: 9-12). Salazar (2010: 209-211) has proposed subjecting the transmission channel to the general principle of economy. Thus, the three design features relating to this field could be synthesised into one single feature – valid for OLs, SLs, and the tactile communication of deaf-blind people – which could be formulated as follows:

Economical transmission: A semiotic code will prototypically adopt the transmission channel that offers, according to the sensory-motor conditions of the users, the best correlation between energetic requirements, communicative efficacy, and functional compatibility with other activities.

It could therefore be concluded that one cannot draw any argument from the transmission channel that truly questions the linguistic nature of SLs. However, this supposition is plagued with difficulties. For this reason, the principal aim of this work is to highlight the feature habitually known as *linearity* or *sequentiality*. Hockett did not include this feature initially, but other authors did: Serrano (1981: 59-60) places it at number 11 on his list. Given that its pertinence to the field of SLs has also been questioned, this topic will be the main focus over the following pages.

2. Sequentiality in question

I will use the terms *linearity* and *sequentiality* here as synonyms in practical terms, since in reality the choice of one or the other depends more on academic traditions than on any real conceptual differences: the term *linearity*, of Saussurean origin, is preferred in European Linguistics, while *sequentialty* meshes better with the Anglo-Saxon semiotic tradition. Having specified these terms, it is useful to define linearity in the following way:

Linearity or *sequentiality*: Messages are composed of units whose emission must be produced successively on the temporal axis.

This means that, given an initial set (or sets) of units, messages constitute repeated variations on the elements of these original sets (Serrano 1981: 59). There is no doubt that the concept defined thus is fully applicable to ●Ls. In fact, Saussure (1916: 141-142) identified linearity as one of the basic properties of linguistic sign. It is true that throughout the 20th century there were critics of the role of linearity in language (Firth 1948: 147; Jakobson 1959: 29); however, they did not attempt to deny it altogether, but rather to clarify its limits with the aim of avoiding possible simplistic interpretations.

The situation for SLs is rather different, as it has been explicitly questioned whether this design feature can be applied to them. Specifically, it has been postulated that SLs allow for not only the

simultaneous emission of the different articulatory components of a sign, but also the simultaneous emission of two or more signs.

Apparently, the situation described here would be analogous to the one mentioned in the introductory section about the transmission channels. However, it must be pointed out that the problem is much more complex in this case. With regard to transmission channels, the differences between OLs and SLs are evident at first glance and can easily be interpreted as a merely superficial issue, relative to the output conditions. By contrast, the debate around the presence or absence of linearity in SLs requires a certain degree of analysis that is beyond the reach of a casual observer; the arguments that can be put forward seem less intuitive and, to my mind, less convincing from the outset, since they depend on the assumption of certain theoretical and methodological starting premises. Likewise, it becomes much more difficult to find a synthetic solution – in line with the feature of *economical transmission* alluded to above – that could overcome the antagonism that exists between linearity and simultaneity. One possibility would be to make linearity a corollary of *discreteness*, a design feature that does appear at number 9 on Hockett's (1958: 559f) list. Discreteness takes place when messages produced within the framework of a certain system of signals are the product of the combination of smaller items, which can be isolated and repeated. Based on this, it could be asserted that, in OLs, the discrete units are combined in time, whereas in SLs they are combined in space. What can be concluded from this is that, unlike discreteness, sequentiality is not one of the features that relate to human language and, as such, its non-fulfilment does not invalidate the essentially linguistic nature of SLs. Although it is not expressed explicitly, this is the underlying idea of Stokoe's assertions (1960), which gave birth to the theory of simultaneous articulation. However, one must be aware that this hypothesis is extremely problematic, since it goes beyond the boundaries of output and enters the more abstract plane of internal linguistic organisation; it would ultimately mean that possible grammars of OLs and SLs could never be completely congruent with one another.

3. Simultaneity and dual patterning

When analysing the role played by simultaneity in SLs and its potential contrastive consequences with OLs, one must begin by making a distinction between the first and second linguistic articulations. [2]

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[2] The concept of the *double articulation* of language was mainly popularised in Europe by Martinet (1949; 1960: 20-22), but at around the same time Hockett (1958: 561-562) included this property, under the term *duality* (or more precisely,

Incidentally, it should be taken into account that, aside from natural languages, double articulation appears in very few human semiotic codes (cf. Eco 1968: 196-212). For many years it was a common belief that any natural language, regardless it was spoken or signed, clearly fulfils this feature; as such, it was a strong starting argument in favour of the linguistic nature of SLs (cf. Armstrong 1983). Nevertheless, Sandler *et al.* (2011) consider that Al-Sayyid Bedouin Sign Language (ABSL), a sign language located in the Negev region of present-day Israel, shows no evidence of dual patterning because a phonological level of structure has not yet emerged. Although this fascinating issue falls outside the scope of this paper, I must say that such a radical exceptionality of ABSL is far from being proved, and such a conclusion is based on some controversial assumptions about the phonological structure of SLs (cf. section 5 below).

As explained above, the first references to the simultaneous nature of visual gestural communication were formulated by Stokoe (1960: 45), in his seminal work on ASL. This author begins with the premise that the *hand signals* used in SLs are the equivalent of the *morphemes* of the OLs, but he affirms that there is an essential difference between the two: while oral morphemes are produced sequentially and, as such, must be segmented according to the order of temporal appearance of phonemes of which they are made, hand signals are articulated simultaneously. Thus, Stokoe considers that the components of these hand signals can be subjected to an *aspectual* analysis, but not a chronological one.[3] This therefore points to a simultaneity that is developed strictly in the context of the second articulation of languages: the phonological (*cherematic*, to use Stokoe's terminology for SLs) level, with units that lack meaning on their own. However, this assumes that the components of first articulation (hand signals) are indeed articulated in a sequential way on the temporal axis, which makes the existence of a properly linguistic syntax possible.

The line of thinking that Stokoe initiated was accepted almost unreservedly in subsequent research for quite a long time, not only in terms of ASL but also many other SLs. Referring to Italian Sign

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duality of patterning, as pointed out in Lyons 1977: 71) in his catalogue of design features.

[3] This has caused Stokoe's phonological theory to traditionally receive the denomination of *aspectual model* (cf. Fernández Soneira 2008: 19, n. 9). By contrast, Stokoe (1960: 33) coined the term *chereme* as a manual correlate of the phoneme. *Cheremes* would therefore be the non-significant units resulting from the analytical decomposition of the hand sign. The term *aspect*, in Stokoe's terminology, refers to what is known today as *formative parameter*, that is, each one of the articulatory variables that enter into the production of a sign.

Language, Cavalieri and Chiricò (2005: 196) unconditionally assume that the formative parameters act simultaneously. With regard to Spanish Sign Language (*Lengua de Signos Española*, henceforth LSE), if we focus on references such as that of Rodríguez (1992: 171) and Cabeza (2000: 158), there also seems to be fairly widespread agreement with this position. Cabeza provides us with the novel idea of considering the simultaneity of formative parameters to originate in the use of the visual gestural mode. I agree with this position, even though other specialists, such as Sandler and Lillo-Martin (2006: 120), postulate that simultaneity initially originates in the iconicity inherent in a wide number of hand signals.

The simultaneity of hand signals has also been proposed in terms of the first articulation of SLs, based in particular on the confirmation that, in many SLs, two or more articulatory organs can act in parallel. Attention has been called to three types of parallel articulation (cf. Vermeerbergen *et al.* 2007a: 1-3): manual simultaneity, oral-manual simultaneity, and simultaneity with the use of other articulators. The first type concerns first articulation when each hand carries information that is sufficiently different to be thought of as bringing two separate signs into play. These are cases in which, after producing a sign, one hand (prototypically, the passive hand) preserves the formative parameters corresponding to the final articulation of such a sign, while the other hand continues the progression of the speech. This phenomenon was initially denominated *perseveration* (Miller 1994), although later the metaphorical term *buoy*, coined by Liddell (2003), started to gain ground. The second type occurs when manual articulation is accompanied by movements of the mouth, independently of whether or not such movements produce sounds. Two subtypes can be found here: whether the mouth produces movements that correspond to the articulation of units that pertain to the ●L existing in the surrounding environment, or whether it produces idiosyncratic movements pertaining to the sign language in question, with no direct relationship to orality. The first subtype is usually denominated *mouthing* and the second *mouth gesture* (cf. Boyes Braem & Sutton-Spence 2001; Nodolske & Rosenstock 2007; Bickford & Fraychineaud 2008). Finally, the third class of simultaneity is represented by the use of other, complementary articulatory organs, such as facial expressions and head, shoulder, and upper body movements, etc. All of these phenomena have presented a large area of debate and research for sign language Linguistics for many years, as is highlighted in the monographic volume edited by Vermeerbergen *et al.* (2007b).

Detailed attention to the three types of parallel articulation described above is beyond the scope of this work. However, I can say that there is

currently no conclusive proof to demonstrate that such phenomena establish a qualitative boundary between SLs and OLs. In fact, various signs point to the contrary, in the sense that such testimonies of simultaneity would correlate to analogous phenomena that exist in OLs. For example, there is evidence to support the idea that facial expression play a prosodic role in SLs (Herrero 2004: 161). Oral activity simultaneous with hand gestures would be to SLs what kinesics is to OLs. If the communication of hearing people is very often supported by movements and gestures, it is not surprising that the communication of deaf people should be supported, in an equivalent way, by orality. Finally, it is vital to recognise that bimanual simultaneity, and particularly *buoys*, poses a more complex problem, connected to one of the recurring themes in the modern Linguistics of SLs: manual classifiers. Numerous scholars maintain that classifiers act as morphemes linked to the signs that they accompany (cf. Herrero 2004), and even Wallin (1996) uses the expression *polysynthetic signs* to refer to this type of complex allocation. Although it is essential to continue investigating this topic, one can think of the *buoys* as allowing for a morphological interpretation too, especially if they are placed in relation to the grammatical category of *agreement*.

4. Rethinking linearity

From this point onwards I will focus on simultaneity circumscribed by second articulation. Nevertheless, the ideas set out in the previous section serve to show how far the concept that SLs are non-linear systems of communication has permeated.

Before continuing it must be recognised that the dichotomous approach that Stokoe (1960) adopts can be justified by its historical context. At that time, the phonology of OLs conceptualised phonematic combination in a way that was eminently sequential – or *segmentalist*, as Cerdà (1996: 165) puts it. The adoption of this perspective was strongly influenced by the fact that classical Phonology, represented in particular by Trubetzkoy (1939), is supported almost exclusively by empirical data of an articulatory nature, not an acoustic one.[4] The binaristic phonology by Jakobson & Halle (1956: 3-51), despite containing certain components of

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[4] Of course, this outcome cannot be blamed on Trubetzkoy, since access to acoustic data requires technological instruments that would not be sufficiently developed until long after his death. In fact, members of the Prague Linguistic Circle (1929: 35-40), in the second of their famous *Theses,* defended the priority of acoustic analysis over articulatory analysis. However, this could not be anything more than a *desideratum* until well into the second half of the twentieth century.

acoustic origin, continued to present a model that was, first and foremost, linear. However, later advances in acoustic phonetics have allowed new, non-linear phonological models to appear, among which we find autosegmental phonology and metrical phonology (cf. Goldsmith 1990; 1995). Optimality theory has also promoted non-linear approaches in both phonology and morphology (cf. McCarthy 1981; 1995).[5] The contemporary study of Linguistics consequently offers, as regards the issue concerning us here, a panorama that is substantially different to the one that Stokoe knew more than half a century ago. The conflict between the segmentalist and non-linear models continues, and there are no signs that it will be solved in the near future, but this is irrelevant to the present study. What is interesting to highlight is that, in the current context, a radical, dichotomous opposition between linearity and sequentiality, without their due nuances, is in fact totally inappropriate not only in terms of the characterisation of SLs, but also that of OLs. Ultimately, simultaneous and sequential phenomena coexist in both OLs and SLs concurrently, to a greater or lesser extent, and their complex dialectic has escaped the analysis that has dealt with them up to the present moment.

In spite of being eminently segmentalist (and, for that matter, linear), the classical phonological models also recognised the existence of simultaneous phonological phenomena, both above and below the phoneme. The Prague Linguistic Circle recognised it from the very beginning. Suprasegmental features (accent, intonation, elocution speed, etc.) are, as their name indicates, expressly excluded from segmentation, if we understand their participation in speech to be *simultaneous* to that of the phonemes on which they act. In the sphere below the phoneme, phonemic particularities (Trubetzkoy 1939: 83-136) or distinctive features (Jakobson 1939) were also understood to be non-linear phenomena practically from the beginning of scientific phonology, since they follow diverse parameters – point of articulation, mode of articulation, etc. – that intervene in a supportive and *simultaneous* way. For example, if /p/ is defined as an oral,[6] consonantal, labial, occlusive and unvoiced phoneme, it is clear that the order in which these distinctive features are enumerated is merely conventional and is not biased towards any sequence of

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[5] McCarthy's non-linear morphology has its roots in the study of the genuine morphological procedures of Afro-Asiatic languages, such as Arabic, which are particularly problematic for linear morphology, as this has traditionally been supported by data proceeding from Indo-European languages.

[6] Obviously, as opposed to *nasal*.

intervention.[7] This is highly relevant to the debate that concerns us here, since, aside from later theoretical revisions, it shows that simultaneity, when highlighted as a differential feature of SLs, does not differ qualitatively from the simultaneity that has long been accepted for the codification of OLs.

The contributions of acoustic phonetics and recent phonological models reinforce the argument made here. As proof, it is enough to mention the discovery of various *acoustic indicators* that are captured by the speech processing system in the form of *perceptive indicators*, thanks to which hearing people are able to recognise certain sounds, such as, for example, occlusive unvoiced consonants (cf. Llisterri 1996: 107). In strictly linear terms, the acoustic nature of the sounds [p], [t] and [k] is identical: a brief moment of silence, due to the passage of air through the vocal tract being interrupted. How is it possible, then, to recognise and differentiate them? This is thanks to these acoustic indicators – and their perceptive correlates – that appear as an effect of the movement of the vocal organs in their trajectory towards the point of articulation (in the moments immediately prior to occlusion) and from that point towards another place, moments later. Thus, the recognition of these sounds is not limited to a mere linear segmentation.

5. Sequentiality and articulation of hand signs

Stokoe (1960) believed that in order to analyse ASL phonologically (*cherematically*, to use his term), all one had to do was to take into consideration three parameters: the configuration of the hand, its initial position, and its movement.[8] However, this limited typology was soon found to be manifestly insufficient. Supalla and Newport (1978) demonstrated that the *manner of movement* was a relevant phonological parameter in ASL. This clearly implies major consequences in the debate concerning us here. In Stokoe's model, the only opposition taken into account was the *absence/presence* of movement, based on the initial

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[7] This is also not exclusive of the phonic level, since analogical situations can be found in grammar and lexicon. Hence the vocable *John* should be characterised as a 'proper noun' and also as a 'human noun'. Both features act on a recategorisation (that is, a simultaneous interclassification), not on the subcategorization, of the noun. Incidentally, this is what invalidated early generativism's attempt to make terminal vocabulary derive from the rules of rewriting that belong to syntagmatic analysis (for more details, cf. Salazar 1998:139 151).

[8] These three parameters received the abbreviated names *Dez*, *Tab* and *Sig* respectively (cf. Stokoe 1960: 83-84).

position of the articulatory organs. The new perspective maintains that presence of movement must be complemented by other data: the direction of movement, if the hand remains stationary or not when finishing the movement, the trajectory described by the organ that is being moved (straight, curved, oscillatory etc.), and so on. Essentially, the articulation of signs that involve movement must go through three phases: an initial position, a final position, and activity connecting the two. These three phases take place on the temporal axis and, as such, are necessarily sequential. Valli and Lucas (1992: 30-35) offer an attempt to reconcile both approaches, taking into consideration certain sequential phenomena.

Incorporating the internal form of the movement – in conjunction with other advances – meant that the phonological theory of SLs had to be entirely rethought, resulting in the appearance of different models that present alternatives to Stokoe's traditional *aspectual model*. Of these, there are two pivotal models on which the international literature has principally focussed. The first is Sandler's *Hand Tier Model* (1987; 1989); the other, Liddell & Johnson's *Move-Hold Model* (1989). The differences between the two are fairly technical[9] and do not concern us here. The main point to note is that, with various nuances, both models share some relevant assumptions, including the existence of simultaneous and sequential components in the articulation of hand signs. Thus they accept that linearity can be considered a valid design feature for SLs, but only partially.

The application of both phonological models to languages other than ASL has been fairly patchy. In general terms, the *Move-Hold Model* is the one that currently enjoys the greatest presence in academic literature, which is why it will be given priority in this study. In the specific case of LSE, its most visible effect has been to increase the number of formative parameters: six according to Rodríguez (1992), and seven according to Muñoz (2000).[10] By contrast, as I have indicated previously, the supposedly

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[9] For example, Sandler's model puts forward a hierarchised organisation of formative parameters and continues to prioritise the three identified by Stokoe (1960) over any others. By contrast, Liddell & Johnson (1989) recognise nine non-hierarchised parameters, whose functionality depends on whether the phonic segment in question has a static or dynamic nature.

[10] Rodríguez adds direction of movement, orientation of the hand, and facial expression to the three features recognised by Stokoe (configuration, placement, and movement). Muñoz's typology includes the three classical parameters and adds orientation, existence or non-existence of contact, the spatial plane of articulation, and the non-manual component (which is not limited to facial expressions, as it may include oral components, movements of the upper body or shoulders among others). Other specialists have shown that their positions are

simultaneous nature of all these parameters continues to be asserted as a given fact. One of the few exceptions, specifically, is that of Muñoz (2000: 46-51). She postulates that three historical stages can be distinguished in our knowledge of the phonological structure of signs. The first one was dominated by the assumption that hand signs are units that lack internal segmentation and act as 'global pantomimic wholes' (cf. Tomaszewski 2006: 28); in the second one, coinciding with the birth of modern Linguistics of SLs and represented by Stokoe's aspectual model, signs are recognised as the result of the combination of smaller units, but in theory this combination is simultaneous (i.e. in space) and not sequential (i.e. in time). The third stage, which was the contemporary period at the time Muñoz was writing (and which continues to be dominant in the academic literature), asserts the existence of a compositional duality of signs, since sequential and simultaneous elements coexist by virtue of whether or not they involve movement. Although Muñoz does not say so explicitly, everything points to this third phase being associated with the emergence and diffusion of Liddell & Johnson's model (1989). Is a fourth phase to be hoped for?

6. Overcoming dichotomy, highlighting congruity

At this point, we must recognise that the research has reached, at least apparently, a synthetic solution that allows us to overcome the old *simultaneity/linearity* dichotomy, owing to the fact that the basic positions of both the Linguistics of OLs and that of SLs have come considerably closer to one another. On the one hand, it is now generally recognised that linear segmentation coexists with simultaneous factors within the phonological structure of OLs; on the other hand, it is admitted that the articulation of hand signs contains a sequential element linked to the appearance of movement. Unfortunately, as valuable as all these advances are, they do not provide a definitive solution to the problem at hand.

On close examination, we find proof that the situation described here does not show complete symmetry between OLs and SLs, since the dialectic between simultaneity and sequentiality is theorised in qualitatively different terms. For OLs it is thought that there are effectively factors that operate simultaneously, but based on the idea that linguistic

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closer to the traditional typology. So, in the same vein as Engberg-Pedersen (1993), Fernández Soneira (2008: 19-22) recognises only four principal parameters: the three described by Stokoe, plus the orientation of the hand. Fernández Soneira understands other possible parameters, such as the existence of bimanuality or non-manual components, to play an additional and somewhat subsidiary role.

design is intrinsically sequential, with time as its dominant dimension. Contrasting with this idea, it has been postulated that there is rather a double design in SLs, with a sequential element and another that is simultaneous – the two being relatively autonomous – that act alternately, according to the static or dynamic nature of the signs being articulated in each case.

The model proposed by Liddell & Johnson (1989), referred to previously, is made up of only one part – corresponding to the phonic level – of the theory based on the more general doctrine of the double design of SLs. However, it is far from being the only one. In fact, we can even speak of a research paradigm that takes this assertion as its point of departure. On a grammatical level, it maintains that the grammar of SLs combines two autonomous ways of encoding: one that is properly linguistic – consistent with the encoding of OLs – and another that is visual, which is not linguistic in a strict sense and relates exclusively to SLs. This is a departure from the theories of Liddell (1984; 1994; 2000), Liddell & Metzger (1998), Emmorey (1996), Meier *et al.* (2002) and many others.[11]

As hegemonic as this paradigm might be in the Linguistics of SLs, its assumption of design duality is extremely problematic. For example, the conclusions of those who have worked with aphasic deaf people fit uncomfortably into this framework; they point out that the areas of the brain implicated in SLs are essentially the same as those that have been identified for OLs: Broca's area, Wernicke's area, etc. (Cavalieri & Chiricò 2005: 181). It seems a much more reasonable alternative, and one that suits the psycholinguistic data available (cf. Levelt 1989), to propose a single source of design for all languages, whether oral or signed. In this way, the difference between subjacent organisation (the Grammatical Component) and physical materialisation (the Output Component) would be delineated. The contrastive differences between SLs and OLs (among which we find the spatial nature of the articulatory organs used in SLs) would be situated exclusively on the *output* level. Incidentally, this chimes with recent theoretical proposals such as Hengeveld & Mackenzie's Functional Discourse Grammar (2008: 8-9). Within the Grammatical Component two principal operations are recognised. On the one hand, we find the Formulation operation, which affects the pragmatic and semantic levels (Interpersonal and Representational Levels, to use Hengeveld & Mackenzie's terms) and which is unrelated to sequentiality; on the other hand, there is the Encoding operation, which imposes a linear organisation

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[11] Cogill-Koez (2000) takes an even more radical position, defending the idea that SLs make use of two codes, one visual and the other linguistic, each of which with its own, totally independent grammar.

on the levels it affects, i.e. the Morphosyntactic Level and the Phonological Level. It is easy to deduce that morphosyntactic encoding corresponds to the first articulation, while phonological encoding corresponds to the second articulation of language. Obviously, this grammatical model presupposes the full congruity of OLs and SLs, which means that it is completely incompatible with the theory of a double design.

There are, moreover, other questionable aspects whose effects should not be underestimated. In particular, I would like to draw attention to syllabic structure. Liddell (1984) and Liddell & Johnson (1989) draw a parallel between OLs and SLs that lacks any justification on its own, and which goes too far: they maintain that movements coincide phonologically with vowels (V) and the rests with consonants (C). According to this theory, the combination of movements and rests is the mechanism by which SLs form syllables, with the movements equivalent to syllabic nuclei and the rests equivalent to margins. With slight variations, this theory has been developed by Brentari (2002; 2012), while Parkhurst (2005) has applied it to the study of LSE. Brentari (2012: 27) goes as far as to assert that there is almost complete consensus on this position among specialists. As can be seen, this is not entirely true, since the phonological model of Herrero (2003) clearly departs from it. However, this is the least of the problem. Far more serious is the fact that the parallel drawn between the vowels of OLs and the movements made in SLs rests on a fallacy. Brentari (2012: 27) maintains that the vowel is the *medium* that allows for the words of OLs to be heard at a great distance; equally, movement is the *medium* by which hand signs can be visible at a great distance. Thus, Brentari falls into the error of granting unwarranted theoretical relevance to the distance of sound perception. Actually, the decisive acoustic factor for identifying the nucleus of the syllable is periodicity (cf. Llisterri 1996: 98f), while the width of the wave (on which the volume of the sound emission, and therefore the auditory distance, depends) constitutes a marginal factor. Furthemore, prototypical oral communication is undeniably made at short distances, making it unnecessary to raise the voice. The need to communicate over long distances lies at the root of the creation of certain substitutionary codes, culturally conditioned, such as the whistling used on the island of La Gomera in the Canary Islands (Classe 1956; Trujillo 1978), but it is absurd to mark it out as a decisive factor in the appearance of a standard linguistic communication. Under these premises, the analogy between the vocal sounds of OLs and the movements made in SLs is merely arbitrary and loses its credibility.

The authors who defend the idea that movement is the syllabic nucleus of SLs do not appear to concede due importance to the fact that movement is not a general feature, since it is totally absent in a wide number of signs. Does this mean that static syllables, formed by a single rest, lack a syllabic nucleus?[12] This position is very difficult to maintain. Moreover, one would have to assume, at the same time, that all hand signs are monosyllabic and that there is no room for more than two possible phonological structures: *C* – a syllable formed by a single consonant for signs without movement – and *CVC* – a syllable with a vocalic nucleus and anterior and posterior consonantal margins for dynamic signs. At the very least, one must admit that these conclusions are plainly counterintuitive and would distance SLs considerably from the typological patterns of ●Ls.

In contrast, the research conducted by Ángel Herrero and his team (cf. Herrero and Alfaro 1999; Herrero 2003), designed to develop a system of alphabetic writing for LSE, has offered a sequential phonological model with a much more satisfactory approach to syllabic structure. Furthermore, it reinforces the idea of congruity between ●Ls and SLs, since it does not need to appeal to design duality. For Herrero, the syllabic nucleus of hand signs is given by configuration, a general parameter that, unlike movement, does not allow for a *zero option* (a sign with *absence of configuration* is unthinkable), and carries a special, distinctive meaning. The other *static* parameters (orientation, placement, bimanuality, etc.) would act as the syllabic margins of the configuration. Within movement one would have to distinguish various types and factors. Specifically, this model understands directional movements – which imply a change of placement of the articulatory organ – as a mechanism of transition between syllables, like the movement that allows one sign to pass to another when they have different placements. In fact, it is nothing but the gestural version of what the mobile organs of the vocal tract do; the tongue and lips must also *move* in order to articulate the different oral syllables. That is to say, hand signs that involve movement would be considered *bisyllables*, unlike monosyllables, which do not involve movement. If directional movement is accompanied by a change in configuration, one could well conclude that the syllables have different nuclei (different vowels, in the analogy with ●Ls, as in *persist*); if not, both syllables have the same nucleus (as in *physics*). This line of investigation seems to me

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[12] It is probably for this reason that Brentari (2002: 44) asserts that any hand sign needs some type of movement in order to function properly, although she does not give any valid argument to support this idea. In my opinion she is right in her diagnosis, but errs in the solution.

very promising and it is very much to be lamented that until now it has not received the attention it deserves in the international literature.

Another questionable aspect of Lydell & Johnson's model is that it bi-univocally equates articulatory sequentiality with the parameter of movement, when other possibilities can certainly be attested. Specifically, one can easily prove that, at least in LSE, there is a *consistent articulatory sequence for signs in which the active hand affects the passive hand.* Although systematic research needs to be conducted on this subject, preliminary investigation suggests that this phenomenon is common to many SLs, to the point that one can postulate, at least hypothetically, that it is universal. Such a sequence would be made up of three phases, to wit:

1) Configuration and oriented placement of the passive hand.
2) Configuration and oriented placement of the active hand, making contact with the passive hand if so required.
3) Movement.

To illustrate this sequence, we can use as an example the sign *character* in LSE, as it appears in the *Dictionary* by Pinedo (2000: *s. v. carácter*, in Spanish). The sign is illustrated by way of four photographs. In the first one, the signer has her passive hand – prototypically, the left hand – fully configured, placed and directed; in the second one, the active hand (configured and directed) moves towards its placement; in the third one, the active hand is already in its final position and in contact with the passive hand; and finally, the fourth picture reproduces the preceding one, but with the addition of an icon – an arrow pointing in both directions (↔) – over the active hand to represent an oscillatory movement.

Note that what is critical for the appearance of this sequence is not so much movement, but bimanuality. Movement is simply one of various parameters being implicated, the same as configuration, direction and placement (the latter being with or without contact). In fact, movement is the last parameter to come into play in the articulation of the sign. It is also important to note that this is a sequential act that is unique to SLs, due to the use of the hands as articulatory organs in three-dimensional space. It does not depend on, or bear any direct analogy with, the articulatory mechanisms that are unique to OLs, demonstrating that sequentiality (and not only simultaneity) has genuine manifestations in visual gestural communication. In other words, simultaneity is manifested in SLs and OLs in a way that is partly shared, but also partly different, by virtue of the material conditions of their respective emission procedures. However, just as in the case of the transmission channel, these differences merely

correspond to operative adjustments of the Output Component. Hence there is no need to theorise a double design for SLs, since it also does not exist in the case of OLs.

7. Conclusions

Currently, without wishing to give the impression that this is a closed debate, since it continues to have multiple ramifications, I hope at least to have offered a few points to reflect upon regarding the role of linearity in linguistic design in general, and in SLs in particular. In the light of the arguments considered, I have shown that sequentiality is a relevant feature that cannot be omitted or ruled out in the characterisation of human language. In this sense, it is rather different to vocal-auditory transmission which, as we have seen in the introductory section, is simply a contingent factor, as much as it lends itself to immediate verification in OLs.

The role assigned to sequentiality in the second linguistic articulation has a direct impact on the general conception of phonology in SLs. As such, this is a matter that transcends philosophy and semiotics and fully enters the domain of linguistic theory. Proof of this lies in the notable differences to be found in three of the phonological models that have been proposed in the history of sign language linguistic research: the aspectual model (Stokoe 1960), the *Move-Hold Model* (Liddell & Johnson 1989), and the sequential model (Herrero and Alfaro 1999; Herrero 2003). Stokoe (1960) emphasised, first and foremost, the simultaneous interaction of the formative parameters of signs, contrasting it with the linearity of OLs. Thus, he considered that OLs and SLs present a strict dichotomy with regard to their design: the former would have a sequential articulation that operates in time, while the latter would have a simultaneous articulation that operates in space. The empirical inadequacy of this approach is evident, and it is untenable nowadays. No-one doubts that there are important factors in SLs that are characterised by simultaneity, which relate both to first and second articulation, but it is also true that these also exist in OLs, with amply noteworthy similarities. Thus, recent developments in the Linguistics of SLs admit that sequentiality is inherent to the articulation of hand signs, since movement plays a decisive role in conditioning the relationships maintained between the different static moments. The problem is that, at least until now, the majority option, represented by the *Move-Hold Model*, keeps the sequential and simultaneous components on autonomous planes, thus postulating a double design for SLs: linguistic for what is linear, and non-linguistic for what is non-linear. As I have shown in this paper, there is no convincing

reason to accept such a supposition, and various reasons to reject it. Therefore, Herrero's (2003) sequential phonological model seems to be much closer to the linguistic actuality of SLs, in spite of the fact that it has received little attention outside of Spain until now. This model proposes that there are no qualitative differences that question an essential congruity between ●Ls and SLs; in both modes sequential and simultaneous phenomena coexist dialectically, but taking into account that the general design of the system of signs is aimed at the linear emission of messages.

Ultimately, the debate over the linearity of SLs rehashes old diatribes in a new context. As is well known, during the 16th and 17th centuries there was an argument over whether simultaneous or sequential relationships should be primary in musical compositions, by virtue of whether greater value was placed on the melody or the harmony: composition using intervals vs. composition using chords (Dahlhaus 1980: 179f). That argument would seem totally anachronistic today, not because preference is given to melody, but because we assume that there is much more to harmony than mere simultaneity. Harmony only finds its fullest expression when chords are prolonged and alternate in time. In other words, musical harmony does not constitute an *event*, but a *process*. Such a chronological perception conditions everything and causes linearity, not simultaneity, to be the definitive mark in the design of any musical product. Equally, no-one considers cinema to be a *non-sequential art* – comparable to photography, sculpture or painting – since in each sequence there are myriad variables operating simultaneously: set, lighting, wardrobe, sound and visual effects, the verbal and non-verbal activity of the actors, and so on. We know that all these variables coexist in parallel in order to build a more complex reality that encompasses them: film discourse, which is necessary sequential. All these analogies should be borne in mind when analysing the role of simultaneity and linearity in the linguistic domain. As Serrano so aptly put it (1981: 60), what we are looking at here is "a system of parallel linearities". This statement is valid for all human languages, regardless of whether they are ●Ls or SLs.

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Rhetorical Strategies in Religious Discourse:
A Cross-cultural Discourse Analysis of a Selected Korean and English Texts on Women's Ordination

Julia Kim

Abstract

Considering that one's religious beliefs shape one's worldview to a large extent and often supersede the perspectives shared by those who reside within the same regional, ethic, and cultural boundaries, cross-cultural studies of religious discourse could help us sift through cultural and religious elements manifest in the arguments. More importantly, this process could help uncover some common persuasive strategies that characterize religious arguments and more clearly understand the communication phenomena involving religious beliefs. In this paper I offer a cross-cultural analysis of rhetoric strategies employed in a Korean text entitled, "Is Baptist ordination of women pastors biblical?", which was written by Han Ki-Man, the late pastor of Yeouido Baptist Church (2014) and in an English text entitled, "Women pastors: What does the Bible say?" written by Richard Melick, professor of New Testament Studies at Gateway Seminary (1998). The study brings to the fore the area of divergences and similarities in rhetorical moves used by respective authors and casts them against the wider pragmatic background.

Key terms: persuasive strategies, rhetorics, ordination

1. Introduction

Although religion is central to human existence, to date, the interplay between culture, religious beliefs and linguistic representation has received relatively little attention from cross-disciplinary discourse analysts.[1] Considering that one's religious beliefs shape one's worldview to a large extent and often supersede the perspectives shared by those who reside within the same regional, ethic, and cultural boundaries, cross-cultural studies of religious discourse could help us sift through cultural and religious elements manifest in the arguments. More importantly, this process could help uncover some common persuasive strategies that characterize religious arguments and more clearly understand the communication phenomena involving religious beliefs.

Cross-cultural discourse studies have steadily gained impetus in the last few decades, and various researchers have instated culture in a central position in producing and understanding texts (Connor, 2014). Findings of previous studies have helped increase awareness of the role of culture and the importance of cultural sensitivity in communication, but at the same time, its emphasis on culture as a central element in approaching a text has drawn a number of critics, who have denounced such studies for their reductionist tendency.

The purpose of the current study is twofold; first, by examining similarities and differences in two cross-cultural religious texts on the same topic – position of women in the church – this paper seeks to explore how similar religious beliefs are promulgated across cultures, in order to understand the nature of religious arguments and the potential role that culture plays. Secondly, the paper seeks to advance the ongoing scholarly dialogue surrounding intercultural rhetoric by presenting evidence which may or may not coincide with previously held notions about East Asian (particularly Korean) writers.

The two texts being analyzed were written by male Baptist theologians — a Korean and a North American – for the purpose of promoting a patriarchal view concerning church leadership, by arguing that women should be excluded from positions of pastoral leadership.

The study focuses on the following questions:

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[1] This chapter forms part of a larger project on critical discourse analysis of chauvinistic religious discourse. See Kim (2016) for an analysis of a denominational document of the Southern Baptist Convention, which legitimizes its anti-women's ordination position. See also Kim (2017) for a comparative discourse analysis of two statements on women's ordination issued by two groups of Seventh-day Adventist theologians who represent opposing views.

1. What rhetorical strategies are employed to foreground similar religious arguments on women's ordination?
2. What role does culture seem to play in advancing religious views?
3. What insights does the comparative analysis bring into the nature of religious arguments?

Before proceeding with the study, I present brief background information about women's ordination and studies on intercultural rhetoric, which are two basic frameworks of this study.

2. Women's Ordination

Currently, the issue of women's ordination, that is, whether women can be formally recognized as pastors, is one of the most controversial topics within several Christian denominations, such as the Roman Catholic Church, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and the Southern Baptist Convention. Other denominations have also debated the same issue, and many of them now ordain women as pastors.

The term 'ordination' traditionally refers to 'laying on of hands' to give official status to clergy. Most churches, including those that do not allow women to be ordained pastors, usually involve women in various areas of service and ministry. However, based on the notion of predestined gender hierarchy derived from the Genesis account of creation of Adam and Eve, those that oppose women's ordination argue that women should submit to men at home and church, and therefore, should not take leadership roles.

They maintain that men have a dominant position over women because Adam was created first, and Eve was created out of his rib. Many of those who hold an anti-women's ordination view also refer to a theological paradigm of the Trinity — God the Father, Jesus the Son, and the Holy Spirit – as a model of hierarchy and functional differences in the godhead. They contend that just as the Trinity shows a hierarchical structure with each person performing a different role, human relationships among men and women at home and church should be hierarchical, with men functioning as heads over women. They also draw their support from the fact that the twelve disciplines that Jesus called were all men and that Apostle Paul spoke against female leadership in various texts in the New Testament, such as 1 Timothy 2:12 ("I do not permit a woman to teach or have authority over a man; she must be quiet"); 1 Corinthians 11:3 ("but I want you to realize that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man, and the head of Christ is God"); and Ephesians 5:22-23

("Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands as you do to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, of which he is the Savior.").[2]

Whereas some feminist theologians consider Christianity as antithetical to women's rights (e.g., Daly, 1978; Hampson, 1990), many evangelical feminist theologians consider gender equality to be in line with biblical principles (see Pierce & Groothuis, 2005). They emphasize that various women in the Bible served as leaders (Belleville, 2005) and that Jesus affirmed the value of women through his interactions with his female followers (Spencer, 2005). Although the Bible itself does not address women's ordination in particular (Chaves, 1977), the debate typically centers on biblical exegesis, with each side trying to establish a sense of interpretive supremacy.

3. Intercultural Rhetoric

Kaplan's (1966) seminal study on cultural differences in thought patterns drew immediate attention from researchers. Based on his study of paragraphs written by Semitic, Oriental, Russian, and Romance language speakers in comparison to English speakers, Kaplan suggested that unique organization patterns observed in the paragraph structures of those writers reflect their cultural thought patterns. His idea was further advanced by many other researchers (e.g. Connor, 1996; Li, 1996), and this line of inquiry soon became a subfield, initially called 'contrastive rhetoric', which is now also referred to as 'intercultural rhetoric' by many.

Several studies highlighted organization differences in Asian writers. For instance, Hinds (1987), Eggington (1987) and Scollon and Scollon (1995) observed non-linearity as a common characteristic of East Asian writers' texts, with features such as delayed introduction and digression. Also, Hinkel (1997), Hinds (1984), and Tsujimura (1987) found Japanese writing, and that of other Asian writers, to have a tendency to be vague, ambiguous, and indirect. Hinds (1987) further characterized Asian writing as being a reader-responsible prose, contending that emphasis on clarity and audience awareness, two commonly emphasized features in Anglo-American writing style, are not as much as emphasized in East Asian writing, and the onus of comprehension falls on the reader.

While studies focusing on identifying the influence of culture in text-specific features have proliferated in the last several decades, various scholars have denounced the essentializing tendency of intercultural

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[2] Throughout the paper, the biblical texts are quoted from the New International Version.

rhetoric (e.g. Atkins, 2004; Frazer, 2002; Kubota & Lehner, 2004; Soliday, 1997; Spack, 1997; You, 2004). For instance, Frazer (2002) argued that "cross-cultural oversensitivity" could prevent us from making efforts to understand individual texts in their own right and cause us to approach a text from a limited perspective. In a similar vein, Kubota and Lehner (2004) and You (2004) emphasized the importance of taking complex contextual variables into consideration in cross-cultural textual studies. It is in this intersection among complex variables – culture, religion, patriarchy, and specific rhetorical situations – where the current study is situated.

4. The analysis

4.1. The description of the data source

The Korean text entitled, "Is Baptist ordination of women pastors biblical?" was written by Han Ki-Man, the late pastor of Yeouido Baptist Church and former board chair of Baptist Church of Central Asia. It was published on February 3, 2014 in the *Chimrae Shinmum* (*'Baptist News'*) the official newspaper of the Korean Baptist Convention.[3] The English text entitled, "Women pastors: What does the Bible say?" was written by Richard Melick, professor of New Testament Studies at Gateway Seminary. It was first published in 1998 in *SBC Life*, a denominational journal of the Southern Baptist Convention. It now appears in the church's website under Frequently Asked Questions, "Can women be pastors or deacons in the SBC?" under *'About Us.*[4]

Although both texts were written to defend an anti-women's ordination view, namely, prohibiting women from having leadership roles in the church, their audience and contexts are different. The texts were published in the official periodicals distributed to Baptist church members – in Korea and in the United States respectively. Han's text was published several months after the Korean Baptist Church voted to ordain women pastors on Sept. 23, 2013 in its 103rd General Conference session following a lengthy debate spanning several years. Melick's text was written at the request of *SBC Life*, in order to defend the church's current anti-women's ordination position.

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[3] http://www.baptistnews.co.kr/news/pdf_down.php?no=1079&page_no=7&type=ezview

[4] (http://www.sbc.net/faqs.asp).

4.2. Similar Moves

4.2.1 Organizational Patterns

Both Han and Melick frame their discourses around a sense of exigency. Han initiates his text by amplifying his emotional state, as he indicates that the issue of women's ordination deeply troubles his mind even while he is bed-bound due to illness. He says:[5]

> *(1)   I have been praying for the future of the Baptist Church while in my sickbed. I have always been grateful and proud to be a pastor in the Baptist church to the deepest core of my being. However, I am pained that recently our church has begun losing its identity.* [6]

Melick also tries to raise the stakes by pointing to an urgent need to resolve the current conflict in the church at the beginning of his text:

> *(2)   In the current discussions of gender roles, there is a need for clear thinking about what the Bible says.*

He ends his text by predicting a dismal outcome in case one does not follow the biblical teaching. He warns readers that

> *(3)   "[t]hese matters call for careful and prayerful analysis, for there is more at stake than initially meets the eye!"*

An emotive element is further present as Melick tries to stoke positive emotions in women as he emphasizes that despite submissive positions to which women are predestined, the Bible does make it clear that women are no less important than men as demonstrated in the following statements. Melick tries to enhance the effect by employing boosters, such as 'clearly,' 'of course,' and 'clearly and forcibly' in each of the following:

> *(4) a. Further, women clearly played a significant role in the work of the Apostle Paul.*
> *b. And of course, women made a significant contribution to Jesus' ministry.*

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[5] All translations from Korean in the present chapter are mine, J.K.

[6] (Kor.) "필자는 병석에 누워 있으면서 침례교회의 앞날을 위하여 기도하고 있다. 침례교회목사로 살아온 것에 대해서 감사하고, 또한 뼈 속까지 침례교인임을 자부하며 살아왔다. 그러나 최근 우리교단은 그 정체성을 잃어가고 있는 것같아, 마음이 아프다."

> c. *While the Bible does not support the practice of women serving as pastors, numerous passages speak clearly and forcibly to the inherent worth and value of women.*

The two authors make similar arguments, even though the amount of details used for each of those arguments differ. Whereas Han presents four main arguments with varying levels of emphasis, Melick focuses on two, which overlap with the last two presented in Han's text. The summary of the arguments are presented below:

1. The Bible does not allow women to have an official status to preach or teach men. (Han)
2. The proper order at creation prescribes that pastoral leadership be allowed only to men. (Han)
3. Only men can be pastors because the Bible states that leadership in church should correspond to leadership at home. (Han/Melick)
4. The Trinity (namely, the godhead consisting of God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit) is based on functional differences, hence proving that women, although equal to men, should submit to men's authority. (Han/Melick)

Melick mainly focuses on the notion of functional differences in the Trinity and its implications on the gender hierarchy, whereas Han allots only a brief section to the discussion of the Trinity, with no explicit ties to the issue of women's ordination. Also, similar counter-arguments, consisting of the following, are acknowledged and addressed at the end of the papers:

1. Doesn't the Bible contain stories of women leaders/prophetesses? (Han)
2. Didn't Paul say men and women are equal in Galatians 3:28? (Han/Melick)
3. Wasn't Paul's prohibition of female leadership reflect the cultural expectations at that particular time period? (Han/Melick)
4. Didn't Paul prohibit women from teaching because women in those days lacked education? (Han/Melick)
5. Isn't it easier for men to subscribe to the predestined gender hierarchy since they are not required to submit? (Melick)
6. Isn't hierarchy a result of sin? Without sin, wouldn't there be perfect functional equality? (Melick)

Both texts follow organizational patterns of traditional persuasive writing, which is typically viewed as 'Anglo-American style.' Their introductory paragraphs include a thesis statement, which concisely summarizes the purpose and main points of the paper. Both texts consist of distinct parts organized under subheadings or line breaks, clearly demarcating boundaries between the introduction, body, and conclusion. Also, they present counter-arguments and rebuttals at the end before conclusion. The analysis of the formal aspect does not correspond with findings of previous studies, which describe traditional patterns of Korean and East Asian writing as being nonlinear (Choi, 1988; Eggington, 1987; Kaplan, 1966), following no specific rhetorical pattern (Choi, 1988), and having a delayed introduction (Scollon & Scollon, 1995). It also refutes the traditional notion concerning East Asian writing, which has been considered as being reader-responsible (Hinds, 1987), as opposed to being writer-responsible. Han's deliberate efforts to frontload readers with the direction, purpose, and the scope of the paper are clearly visible when his thesis statement is juxtaposed with Melick's:

(5)   *First of all, I will examine biblical and theological evidence for allowing pastoral positions only to men. Then I will present rebuttals for several main counterarguments made by those who are proponents of women's ordination. Finally, I will discuss ideal ministry that women can engage in.*[7] *(Han)*

(6)   *This article addresses some of the larger concerns revolving about the issue of women serving as pastors. The exegesis of specific texts is a necessary starting point for the discussion, but the issue goes beyond isolated texts. There is a consistent pattern of biblical teaching on the subject. Our approach will be to identify these patterns and deal with the greater issues they raise.* (Melick)

As can be seen, Han's thesis statement is more focused and direct, informing readers of the structure of his paper as well as the scope and direction. In comparison, Melick's thesis seems rather diffused; he inserts defense for examining interrelationships among isolated biblical texts in discussing women pastors. Han's text also exhibits characteristics of *writer*-responsible prose typically associated with the western academic writing style, in which the onus of comprehension falls on the writer and

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[7] (Kor.) "우선 필자는 성경에서 왜 남성에게만 목사직을 허용하는지에 대한 성경적 그리고 신학적 근거들에 대해 살펴보고, 그 다음 여성 목사를 지지하는 분들의 몇가지 대표적 주장들에 반론을 제시하며 마지막으로는 여성 사역자들의 교회 안에서의 바람직한 사역에 대해 논하겠다."

puts emphasis on the structure, thesis statement, and topic sentences. Han foregrounds his arguments through various, repeated rhetorical strategies in order to aid readers' understanding and enhance the effectiveness of the arguments, as further illustrated in the following section.

4.2.2 Presuppositions

The arguments presented in the two texts are framed around common presuppositions. Even though the Bible does not make any mention of woman pastors or ordaining pastors, both authors assume that the readers would agree that the Bible contains answers to the specific question concerning whether women can be ordained pastors, and that only the Bible should be consulted. They also assume that their audience would agree that the Bible is inerrant, and that every word uttered by Apostle Paul in the New Testament represents God's word. Most importantly, they both presume that there is a correct way of interpreting biblical passages.

Both Han and Melick try to convey a sense of interpretive supremacy in their interpretations of the biblical texts and caution readers against making incorrect interpretations. Han warns readers of the danger of practicing *eisegesis*, rather than *exegesis* by interpreting a certain biblical text without comprehensive understanding of the context in order to advance the interpreter's own theology or opinion. Similarly, Melick implies that he is qualified to address the issue as a knowledgeable scholar when he asserts, "Biblical exegesis requires sensitivity to the context of the passage. When the Scripture is taken out of its context, faulty conclusions and blurred perspectives result." He also suggests that average readers are in need of guidance from an expert theologian to correctly interpret the Bible and reiterates the importance of exercising care in doing exegesis.

Not only do the authors assume that a reader would accept their superior positions as authoritative religious scholars who possess expert knowledge on the subject, but they also insinuate that they possess insider knowledge of Apostle Paul's mind and intentions, as well as those of his contemporaries, as illustrated below (bold-face added):

(7)   *Neither Paul nor Christians in the 1st century could **get a picture** of a mother governing the house, leaving the father on the sideline. Therefore, none of them **imagined that** women would exercise authority as pastor or teacher*[8]. (Han)

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[8] (Kor.) "바울이나 1 세기 교인들의 마음속에 아버지를 제쳐두고 어머니가 집을 다스리는 그림을 그릴 수는 없었다. 따라서 그 누구도 어머니인 여자가

(8) *a.* *Though he [Paul] was able to see beyond his Rabbinic*
    background...,
    yet he taught a functional hierarchy. . . (Melick)
  b. *First, Paul did not choose to argue for men pastors based on*
    education." (Melick)
  c. *Again, Paul understood economic subordination to exist in the*
    Godhead (1 Cor. 1:3). (Melick)

The four verbs used above – 'get a picture,' 'imagine,' 'see,' and 'understand' – indicate Paul's state of mind, rather than action, and the last verb phrase ('did not choose to argue') denotes Melick's knowledge and understanding of Paul's intention and process in making the statement. By choosing these specific verbs, rather than more neutral ones (e.g. 'stated' and 'mentioned'), the authors indicate that they are well aware of Paul's state of mind, intention, and purpose at the time of his writing, as well as that of the members of the 1st century Christian church.

Although both texts cite from the Old and the New Testaments, citations are taken predominantly from the New Testament, as shown in Table 1. With the exception of Genesis 3:17 used in the Korean text, the first three of the four arguments in the Korean text and the first one of the two in the English text draw exclusively from Apostle Paul's writings in the New Testament.

Table 1: Citations from the Bible

Books from the Bible	Number of Books		Number of Verses	
	Han	Melick	Han	Melick
Old Testament	2	2	3	3
New Testament	8	19	7	10

4.2.3 Exegesis or Eisegesis?

Although both authors claim that functional differences in the godhead, namely the Trinity, prescribes women's submissive role in the church and family, they base their claims on entirely different biblical passages, which have no direct relation to the church structure. To illustrate, five out of eight citations used in Han's text to support the belief that the Trinity prescribes women's submissive position are taken from the Book of John, and only one, a completely different verse, is taken from the same book in

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목사가 되어 교회를 치리하거나 가르치는 권위를 행사하는 것을 상상하지 않았다."

Melick's text. Drawing from John 14: 26, Han argues that since God is greater/higher than Jesus, men are higher than women; also, just as the Spirit of Truth (the Holy Spirit) has a specific role assigned, which is to testify about Jesus and guide people into truth as stated in John 15:26; 16: 13-15, Han suggests that men have a distinct role of headship, which women do not. Similarly, Melick bases his argument of the predestined gender hierarchy on John 20:21, "As the Father has sent me, I am sending you," and makes the same inference as Han. That is, as Jesus had a role assigned by God—to be sent by God to the world, men and women have "a division of labor and focus." Table 2 shows the biblical passages that are used as evidence for arguing that the Trinity model prescribes a gender hierarchy:

Table 2: Biblical Texts Used in Support of the Connection between the Trinity and Gender Hierarchy

Han	
Matthew 28:19	Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.
John 1:1-3	In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. 2 He was with God in the beginning. 3 Through him all things were made; without him nothing was made that has been made.
Acts 5:3-4	Then Peter said, "Ananias, how is it that Satan has so filled your heart that you have lied to the Holy Spirit and have kept for yourself some of the money you received for the land? 4 Didn't it belong to you before it was sold? And after it was sold, wasn't the money at your disposal? What made you think of doing such a thing? You have not lied just to human beings but to God."
Hebrew 10:7	Then I said, 'Here I am-it is written about me in the scroll- I have come to do your will, my God.'"
John 5:19	Jesus gave them this answer: "Very truly I tell you, the Son can do nothing by himself; he can do only what he sees his Father doing, because whatever the Father does the Son also does.
John 14:26; 15:26; 16:13-15	But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you all things and will remind you of everything I have said to you.

	When the Advocate comes, whom I will send to you from the Father—the Spirit of truth who goes out from the Father—he will testify about me. But when he, the Spirit of truth, comes, he will guide you into all the truth. He will not speak on his own; he will speak only what he hears, and he will tell you what is yet to come. 14 He will glorify me because it is from me that he will receive what he will make known to you. 15 All that belongs to the Father is mine. That is why I said the Spirit will receive from me what he will make known to you.
Melick	
John 20: 21	Again Jesus said, "Peace be with you! As the Father has sent me, I am sending you."
Gen. 1:2	Now the earth was formless and empty, darkness was over the surface of the deep, and the Spirit of God was hovering over the waters.

As can be seen, while some of these biblical passages describe various workings of the Godhead, they have neither a direct nor indirect bearing on gender hierarchy. Verses such as John 1: 1-3, Gen 1:2, Acts 5:3-4 are particularly far-fetched.

Despite the authors' emphasis on the role division between males and females in relation to the role division in the godhead as the basis of the view against women's ordination view, Han's concluding remarks cast doubt on this premise because he believes that women should be allowed to perform certain roles, such as teaching and participating in ministry and worship, as long as they are not performing these roles *to men*. In his conclusion, Han states that women can be permitted to:

1. teach women;
2. perform administrative assistant roles in the church;
3. participate in worship services, as long as they do not preach. They can give testimonies but not sermons;
4. be allowed in pastoral training so that they can teach other women; and
5. be trained as counselors to help other women.

The stipulations presented in these statements clearly indicate that the core of the argument centers on men's authority over women, not on the roles or functions, because these statements 'allow' women to perform

various functions in the church, as long as these functions are limited to a female congregation.

Since no specific Biblical text or author mentions whether women can be pastors as mentioned above, any discussion of women's ordination is likely to entail some sort of *eisegesis* to a certain extent. In fact, what the two authors ostensibly warn readers against – "interpreting a certain biblical text to advance the interpreter's own theology" (Han) and "taking the scripture out of the context" (Melick)—seems to be precisely what is being practiced by the authors themselves in these two texts. Melick falsely equates his own interpretation to explicit teachings of the Bible, as he asserts,

(9)   *We have seen that the explicit texts of Scripture forbid women to serve as pastors.*

Despite the sense of complete objectivity and interpretive supremacy that the authors try to convey, the fact that vastly different verses that have no ties to women pastors are employed, and questionable analogies are drawn in the two texts for justifying their positions, clearly smacks of, if not showcases, eisegesis. Another interesting observation is that the discussion of the functional subordination in the Trinity in Han's text fails to make explicit connections to women pastors as it focuses entirely on the importance of different roles that Christ and the Holy Spirit play for the redemption of humanity.

Han's text exhibits denser intertextuality as it draws from the Bible more frequently. It also includes two references taken from non-biblical sources, as it refers to theologians Bray and Westermann to support men's authority over women. However, no citations are provided, leaving readers with no means to verify the references. Here, Han seems to assume that readers will accept his authority and knowledge concerning the information being presented.

4.3. Different Moves

4.3.1. Reporting verbs and modality

Although both authors purport to rely on biblical exegesis to advance their claims, how they introduce the biblical sources exhibits differences. Han chooses verbs that are much more forceful on the semantic scale, such as (Kor.) '금지하다' ('prohibit'), '명령하다' ('command') and (Kor.) '강조하다' ('emphasize') in contrast with 'said,' 'wrote,' and 'addressed'

as used by Melick when referring to Apostle Paul's statements (See Table 3). Han also uses mostly present-tense reporting verbs, whereas Melick uses the past-tense. It seems that Han tries to render Apostle Paul's prohibition as timeless teaching through the use of present-tense. Notably, Han uses relatively neutral reporting verbs in the past tense when he refers to other statements made by Apostle Paul prescribing how women should behave. For instance, when Han makes a rebuttal to a counterargument that Paul's instruction for women to be silent and submissive should be understood in the particular cultural and temporal context, just as his other statements that prescribes women to dress modestly and to wear long hair as in 1 Tim 2:9[9] and 1 Cor 11:13-15[10], he uses '권면하다' ('recommend') or '가르치다' ('teach'), presenting the issue as a matter of choice, rather than an explicit order as in the case of women pastors:

(10)   a. When Paul told women to be sure to wear long hair and to put on a hair covering, he was making a recommendation, rather than addressing an everlasting truth.[11]

   b. Paul taught women in the 1st century GrecoRoman society to worship God by expressing their womanhood in a culturally appropriate way while submitting to men's authority as prescribed by God.[12]

Now, compare these with the following statements:

(11)   a. Paul completely prohibits the entire women, not just a particular group of them, from being involved in ministry in which they teach men.[13]

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[9] "I also want the women to dress modestly, with decency and propriety, adorning themselves, not with elaborate hairstyles or gold or pearls or expensive clothes, but with good deeds, appropriate for women who profess to worship God."

[10] "Judge for yourselves: Is it proper for a woman to pray to God with her head uncovered? Does not the very nature of things teach you that if a man has long hair, it is a disgrace to him, but that if a woman has long hair, it is her glory? For long hair is given to her as a covering."

[11] (Kor.) 여성들이 긴 머리를 꼭 가져야 한다거나 수건으로 머리를 덮을 것은 영구 불변의 진리가 아니라 문화적 표현의 양태에 따른 바울의 목회적 권면이었던 것이다."

[12] (Kor.) "바울은 여성 성도들이 1 세기 그리스 로마 사회에서 하나님이정하신 남성의 권위에 순종하면서 여성성을 보존하는 문화적인 표현을 통해 하나님께 예배할 것을 가르친것이다."

[13] (Kor.)"바울은 특정 여성들이 아닌 전체 여성들에게 남성 성도를 가르치는 사역을 전면 금지하고 있다."

b. *What Paul prohibits in 1 Tim 2 is the entire teaching and preaching ministry of women.*[14]

These examples show that Han adds forcefulness to Paul's remarks prescribing women's silence and submission in church, while presenting Paul's remarks on women's other behaviors concerning dressing and hair as a mere advice or counsel. The fact that Han uses reporting verbs with much stronger force than Melick could also be partly explained by his urgency to let his church know that the recent decision made by the Korean Baptist Convention to allow women's ordination was wrong. In other words, Han's linguistic choices reflect his primary goal of portraying Paul's statements concerning men's headship authority as absolute and permanent, while reducing other statements made by Paul on women's behaviors to choices. At the same time, his language use could be seen as an indication of his sense of exigency to correct the error which he believes his church has committed by allowing women to be ordained.

Table 3: Examples of Reporting Verbs in the Analyzed Texts

Han	Melick
Paul prohibits	Paul said
Paul clearly prohibits	Paul wrote
Paul is prohibiting	Paul addressed
What Paul Prohibits	Paul argued
Paul asserts, affirms	Paul treated
Paul emphasizes	Paul defended
Paul reminds	Paul did not explicitly forbid
Paul commanded	Paul did not link his argument…
Paul demanded	

Although Melick uses more neutral reporting verbs as shown in Table 3 he also conveys a strong sense of prohibition through other linguistic means. To illustrate, he frequently employs existential modality (von Wright 1951). As noted in Kim (2016: 70), Melick describes women's roles by using 'be' verbs with a *to*-infinitive, assigning an existential and ontological value to the order prescribed:

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[14] (Kor.) "딤전 2 장에서 바울이 금지한것은 여성 교사/설교자의 사역 그자체다."

> *(12)* *a. The wife is to submit to her husband. (Eph. 5:22)*
> *b. Explicit teaching of the passage is that wives are to submit;*
> *husbands are to love.*

Melick also resorts to lexico-semantic ploys as he interprets Paul's remarks. Melick states that it is not only desirable, but 'beautiful' when women voluntarily submit to men, putting semantically incongruent terms such as 'command' and 'voluntary' together (cf. Kim 2016:71):

> *(13)* *a. ...submission is specifically commanded of the wife.*
> *b. The Greek term used for submission (Hypotasso) suggests a*
> *voluntary submission..."*
> *c. In a beautiful tension, he [Paul] affirms both value and order,*
> *both equality and subordination.*

By presenting coercion and volition as complimentary, rather than contradicting qualities, Melick attempts to eliminate a negative connotation from submission and subordination which Paul expected of women.

Melick's text is replete with various boosters that convey the sense of absoluteness of Paul's words. As illustrated in Kim (2016: 70), Melick reiterates the importance of preserving the hierarchical order in the church and the family, emphasizing proper family order (bold-face added):

> *(14)* *a. As before, proper family order is a prerequisite to pastoral*
> *leadership.*
> *b. Here proper family order is a prerequisite to a woman's*
> *participation in the church.*
> *c. Proper family relationships are a prerequisite to ministry in the*
> *church.*
> *d. Proper relationships require the husband to function as the head*
> *and the wife to willingly submit to his leadership.*

Melick further resorts to emphatic adjectives and adverbs to qualify his claims. For example, as Kim (2016:68) observes, he repeatedly uses various derivatives of "care", trying to solidify his credibility as an authoritative scholar. The following statements exemplify this point (bold-face added):

(15) a. *The question requires careful analysis.*
      b. *Readers must exercise great care, therefore, to determine the
      nature of the issue under discussion in order to understand and apply
      the message relevantly today.*

4.3.2. Other Strategies

One of the distinct features immediately noticed in Han's text is
repeated use of parallelisms. For instance, in stating reasons for
prohibiting women pastors, he equates the rationale to that of rejecting
infant baptism and homosexuality. A rather unique way of drawing
parallelism in Han's text is making connections between two topics, first
by acknowledging that the Bible does not specifically address the issue of
X, but what the Bible says, or does not say, about Y also applies, or does
not apply, to X. For instance, he says, "The fact that Paul did not mention
education about men signifies education was not a factor in why he did not
permit women to teach." A similar strategy is observed in sentences such
as, "It's because nowhere in the Bible does it say that men were created as
women's helper," or "The Holy Spirit didn't hint at women's liberation."
Han presents perceived intentions and motives of the Bible writers' and
the Holy Spirit as evidence to prove that women's ordination is a timeless
issue, which has an unchanging answer.

Another unique strategy observed in Han's text is the use of rhetorical
questions. Whereas Melick's text includes only one question, which
restates the title, as many as seventeen different questions, excluding those
that frame counter-arguments, are used in Han's – five in introduction,
eight in the body, and four in conclusion. Han seems to use the
questioning technique not just to strengthen his arguments, but also to
directly engage readers. These questions also seem to be used for emphatic
purposes as the author directly answers those questions almost always
immediately, as illustrated below:

(16) a. *Why does the Baptist church reject infant baptism? It's because it
      clearly goes against God's will. (Introduction)* [15]
      b. *Why didn't Debora and Hulda openly exercise leadership over
      men like other male prophets? It's because Debora and Hulda had to*

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[15] (Kor.) "왜 그토록 침례교회는 유아 세례에 반대 하는가? 그것이 하나님의
뜻에 확연이 위배되는 것이기 때문이다."

> *use their spiritual gift* without violating the order that God has prescribed at the creation. *(Body)*[16]

The questioning strategy has been identified as a common technique in sermons (See Gamer, 2007; Singh & Thuraisingam, 2011). By incorporating a question-and-answer type of strategy, the author also makes the text conversational.

Another feature of Han's text that is distinct from Melick's is its emphasis on preserving group identity. Han emphasizes that a Korean Baptist's taking an anti-women's ordination stance is not a result of an influence or pressure from the North American counterpart, the Southern Baptist Convention, but is solely based on biblical teaching. The Korean Baptist Convention, he contends, is able to make independent decisions without relying on the SBC.

4.4 The Role of Culture

As Han and Melick share the same goal of convincing their audience that the Bible prohibits women from being ordained as pastors in the church, how they advance their claims reveals similarities, as well as differences, as demonstrated above. Do any of the differences, then, reveal cultural differences? The current study is limited in that it is based on small cultures (Holliday, 1999) and draws from a single text for each culture. Without a doubt, no particular text could be seen as representative of a given culture, and no generalizations should be made based on conclusions drawn from a single textual analysis. Just as the use of boosters and lexico-semantic ploys observed in Melick's text cannot be generalized to represent Anglo-American persuasive style, various observations made in Han's text cannot be readily assumed to represent the Korean rhetorical style.

Nonetheless, the fact that the texts being analyzed in this study are high-stakes texts and were both published in the official publications for the purpose of justifying the same religious belief for their own audiences makes it possible to identify any distinct as well as overlapping discursive strategies that each author has used to persuade their audience. In addition, insights gained from these texts could help us more clearly understand the utility, as well as, limitations of paradigmatic views of contrastive rhetoric.

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[16] (Kor.) "왜 드보라와 훌다는 다른 남성 선지자와 같이 온 이스라엘 남성 회중을 대상으로 공개적으로 리더십을 행사하지 않았는가? 그것은 드보라와 훌다가 하나님이 세우신 창조 질서를 위배하지 않으면서, 자신들에게 주신 성령님의 은사를 사용해야 했기 때문이다."

This section discusses some unique features found in Han's text in light of existing studies in intercultural rhetoric concerning Korean and Asian writing and considers their implications. Citing Poole (1991), Hinkel (1997: 364) stated that "discourse practices are usually culturally dependent on rhetorical value systems and reflect cultural beliefs and assumptions." In the case of Han's text, for example, focus on group identity and frequent use of rhetorical questions were some of the unique features, which were not observed in Melick's. Korea, along with many other countries in Asia, is typically associated with collectivist culture, in which group goals and solidarity are considered more important than satisfying individual desires. In this sense, the framing discourse on the importance of preserving group identity could be seen as reflecting the collective culture that characterizes Korean society.

Also, the frequent use of rhetorical questions in Han's text aligns with findings of previous studies in intercultural rhetoric. Several researchers have noted more pronounced use of rhetorical questions in non-Anglo writing. For instance, Hinkel (1999: 100) observed that questions were used significantly more in the writings of non-English speakers than in English speakers' writings. Alijanian and Dastjerdi (2012: 65-66) observed rhetorical questions frequently appearing in Persian writing. Similarly, both Back (2011) and Park (2012) observed frequent usage of rhetorical questions in Korean adult English language learners' writing. However, the reasons for using questions as presented in the previous studies do not seem to align with Han's motive. Back (2011: 9-10) commented that Korean writers' rhetorical questions indicate their preference for indirectness, politeness, and harmony-maintaining strategy. Other researchers have also suggested that questions are employed to show indirectness, face-saving, hesitation, or hedges (Hwang, 1987; Ohta, 1991).

In contrast, hedges are scarce in Han's text. As demonstrated in the previous section, Han's text expresses a high level of certainties concerning Paul's statements that reflect patriarchal views, by using verbs which indicate strong convictions. Some scholars who have studied Korean English language learners' texts have suggested that Korean writers' use of a direct and assertive tone was best explained by lack of linguistic ability. For instance, Back (2011) and Park (2012) observed that Korean students' English texts included a large percentage of epistemic items denoting certainty and low percentage in probability category. Their writings had a more direct and assertive tone with stronger epistemic devices than the native English speaking student samples. Back (2011: 12) speculated that Korean English language learners' overuse of epistemic

items in the certainty category is linked to their lack of linguistic knowledge about epistemic meanings of various lexical items which express probability and certainty. The current study, however, problematizes such speculation; Han's text was written in Korean and was written entirely for the Korean audience, and yet, it conveys strong epistemic certainties. Therefore, a high level of epistemic certainties manifested in this text cannot generally be attributed to lack of linguistic knowledge, nor to the general characteristics of Korean writing.

Moreover, it should be noted that epistemic certainly is not unique to Han's text; Melick's text, too, expresses a high, if not higher, level of certainties about his anti-ordination view through other lexical devices such as boosters and repetitions. It seems far more reasonable to posit that strong epistemic certainty and lack of hedges and probability items characterize the nature of persuasive religious discourse and that the exigency of the rhetorical situation determines linguistic forms. Both Han and Melick indicate a high level of certainty, and elements of hedging are almost non-existent. Han's use of reporting verbs with stronger epistemic certainty heightens the sense of imperativeness as the church had recently made a decision, which, Han is convinced, goes against the biblical principles. They both present their interpretations and understanding of biblical texts as inerrant, and their discursive strategies seem to be largely determined by the nature of religious beliefs.

Hedging is considered an important skill in academic writing to ensure credibility of the assertions being made. Academic writers tend to avoid being decisive in their claims unless they are stating a fact. In this particular analysis of religious discourses, hedging is almost non-existent as both authors assume authoritative and superior position and their arguments leave no room for negotiation. Whereas previous literature on Asian writing identified features such as face-saving, indirectness, and politeness as preferred strategies, Han's text displays features that are at the opposite ends—with a comparable level of epistemic certainties and definiteness as the North-American counterpart. In the case of Melick's argument, words such as 'care' and 'sensitivity' are emphasized as he repeats the importance of using caution in interpreting biblical passages.

5. Conclusions

Culture continues to receive focus in studies that examine human communication in various fields. In the field of applied linguistics, scholars have expressed the need to identify and understand influence of culture in second language writers' texts. At the same time, intercultural

rhetoric has been criticized for its essentializing and reductionistic tendencies, as it attributes organizational and stylistic differences mainly to different cultural schema.

The findings of this study further highlight inadequacies of using culture to explain distinct rhetorical strategies, because several stereotypical views about Korean writing style, such as non-linearity and lack of structure, reader-responsibility, as well as tendency to use hedges and face-saving devices as suggested by previous researchers are not borne out in the current analysis. A more intriguing aspect of this analysis seems to lie the commonalities, rather than differences observed in the two texts. Although certain features — e.g., frequent use of rhetorical questions and emphasis on group identity — may stem from cultural rhetorical conventions, how the authors foreground their arguments, at least in the case of religious discourse, seems to be controlled by the authors' intentions to assign absolute truth value to their statements. In this particular analysis, Han adds forcefulness to his convictions by choosing reporting verbs that connote absoluteness and by repeatedly drawing parallelisms. Similarly, Melick elevates his beliefs to irrefutable truths through lexico-semantic ploys. More importantly, both authors assume authoritative positions and establish their beliefs by using the very strategies that they denounce—eisegeses; their assertions are based on presuppositions and questionable analogies between the doctrine of Trinity and human gender hierarchy, while drawing from completely different biblical texts that make no mention of women pastors.

In his article, 'The Trouble with Cross-Cultural ●versensitivity', Frazier (2●●2) discusses potential dangers of making cultural overgeneralizations. He asserts that 'much of the thrust of the movement toward greater cross-cultural sensitivity leans toward an over-reliance on cultural expectations' (Frazier 2●●2: 283). Although insights garnered from studies of intercultural rhetoric can be helpful for making us aware of potential sources of idiosyncrasies when approaching cross-cultural texts, cultural oversensitivity, Frazier argues, can be a stumbling block because there would be many examples that do not fit the existing cultural mold.

To this, I would add that essentialist views perpetuated through contrastive rhetoric can distract readers from focusing on more important issues. What demands attention from the readers in the current analysis seems to be the common persuasive strategies observed in the two texts, rather than differences. Their similarities, when foiled against each other, reveal significant dilemma in religious arguments as they make conflicting claims through questionable analogies, interpretations, and fallacies while

bypassing traditional conventions of the code of sound academic discourse such as projecting a balanced stance.

The findings of this study raise some important questions: Does the epistemic certainty observed in this study characterize persuasive religious discourse in general? (i.e. discourse of other religions). In what aspects are the ways in which Christian authors foreground their arguments unique or similar compared to other persuasive genres, such as political discourse or persuasive discourses found in other religions? And, what presuppositions do readers bring to religious texts, which allow sanctioning of strong epistemic certainties on the part of authors? In order to answer these questions, it would be important to go beyond organizational patterns and examine how discursive strategies and linguistic representations are enmeshed with a goal shared by a religious discourse community, which transcends ethnic and linguistic boundaries.

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Variationist Paremiology: The Study of Proverbs in Relation to Biblical Sources

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Abstract

A rich and extensive bibliography reveals that proverbs constitute a millennia-old species of textual and cultural artefacts. Their long and resilient life is simply wondrous if one considers that any individual piece of mind, language and culture called proverb seems rather frail and easily replaceable with other words, phrases and sentences that humans use to express their world-views. As a text type, proverbs enjoy a lasting legacy, as tokens, they are bound to the laws of change and ephemerality. In order to advocate the need for an evolutionary perspective in the study of proverbs, this paper focuses on proverb variation and approaches the process of change with regard to three elements: form, meaning and style. The main rationale behind this research proposal is that the recent wave of scholarly contributions in paremiology renews the desideratum to place the structural, typological, functional and cultural study of proverbs in adequate and comprehensive historical frames.

My paper adopts an evolutionary approach in order to address the issue of proverb variation. More precisely, I draw on Leiv Flydal and Eugenio Coseriu's multidimensional model of language variation, focused on such parameters as time, space, social structure and style/register, in order to examine the two facets of proverbiality, namely proverbialization (proverbiogenesys) and de-proverbialization (proverb decay). Against the mainstream view of proverbiality, according to which proverbs are fixed-form utterances with invariable wording, I advocate, following Arvo Krikmann, the well-known Estonian scholar, that proverb variation lies at the heart of proverbiality. Consequently, proverb variation is interpreted in line with the classical rhetorical model of quadripartita ratio: addition (adiectio), omission (detractio), transposition (transmutatio) and permutation

(immutatio). The evolutionary frame outlined in the paper will be supported by a case study, namely the transformation of certain Bible quotes into folk proverbs as well as the inclusion of some ancient folk proverbs and sayings in the texture of the Bible.

Key terms: paremiology, Bible quotes, lifespan and variations of proverbs, multidimensional model of language variation

1. Introduction

A rich and extensive bibliography reveals that proverbs constitute a millennia-old species of textual and cultural artefacts. The earliest proverb records known up to now originate in ancient Mesopotamia and date from ca. 2600- 2550 B.C. The Sumerian collections unveiled by such scholars as Bendt Alster (1997), Edmund I. Gordon (1968), Samuel Noah Kramer (1951) and others revealed not only that proverbs played an important role in the education of the literate elites, but also that the miniature texts of wisdom reflect the world-view of their time. According to Gordon (1968: 285), proverbs written on clay tablets hint at daily realities such as the environment, the economic life, the structure of society, religious beliefs and the cult practices of the day, education, the arts and leisure activities of the people as well as the biological and the spiritual status of the individual on the big canvas of the world.

The now extinct Sumerian language was the first written idiom of the world and the linguistic medium of the first comprehensive literature as well as the oldest idiomatic vehicle of proverbs translated as "In the city of no-dog, the fox is overseer" (Alster 1997, I, 17), "A thriftless wife living in the house is worse than all diseases" (Alster 1997, I, 31) or "A good word is a friend to numerous men" (Alster, 1997, I, 107), which seem to resonate with proverbs like "When the cat's away the mice will play" (Strauss, 1994, 1786d), "Three things drive a man out of his house: smoke, rain and a scolding wife" (Strauss, 1994, 1618e) or "Kind words go a long way" (Strauss, 1994, 264r). In fact, it has been revealed that one of the crucial links that ties the Ancient Near East wisdom legacy with the proverbial wit of the Western world lies within the Bible that bears the influence of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian literary traditions (Clifford 2007, Lambert 1996). The debate concerning the stylistic parallels drawn between various biblical texts and their most likely sources of influence allows us to point out both the timeless validity of some insights into the human way of life and the evolutionary dimension of human cultures: they reproduce, flourish and eventually go into oblivion.

Sumerian proverbs translated as "A fool has a (boasting) mouth" (Alster 1997, I, 98), "Flies enter an open mouth" (Alster 1997, I, 100) or "He who knows but does not speak is a fool" (Alster 1997, I, 179) outline, on the one hand, the typical outcome of various human habits and experiences and, on the other hand, shed light on the cultural metamorphoses that underlie judgments and precepts aimed at sloth, foolishness, or untruthfulness, as exposed, for instance, in the books that constitute the Biblical wisdom literature. In accordance with this line of thought, it is likely that such proverbial models have widely known international equivalents in the paremiological thesauri of many cultures. The translation of the Bible in the vernaculars of various peoples and the enduring legacy of the Bible-based Christian literature spread throughout Europe and beyond, helped the diffusion of many pieces of wisdom. The fact that the Holy Scripture has been a major source [1] of proverb dissemination [2] across Europe favoured, in most if not all Christian cultures, the development of proverbial corpora containing "between 300 and 500 proverbs that stem from the Bible" (Mieder 1990: 12). For English alone, the proverb inventory counts 425 units divided "into nineteen thematic chapters with an average twenty-two texts each" (Mieder 1990: 13), and it is not a mistake to assume that, in the English speaking world, the corpus might prove considerably larger.

As odd as it might seem, proverbs are time travellers and their journey lies at the heart of the present inquiry. The long and resilient life of proverbs is simply wondrous if one considers that proverbs, just like any other fact of language seems rather frail and ephemeral. As text type, a proverb enjoys a lasting legacy, as tokens, proverbs are bound to the laws of change. In order to advocate the need for an evolutionary perspective in the study of proverbs, this study focuses on proverb variation and approaches the process in the light of several linguistic theories with regard to three elements: form, meaning and style. The main rationale behind my research is that the recent wave of scholarly contributions in paremiology (Hrisztova-Gotthardt & Aleksa Varga 2014) renews the desideratum to place the structural, typological, functional and cultural study of proverbs in adequate and comprehensive historical frames.

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[1] According to Wolfgang Mieder, the Bible stands as one the four main pathways of proverb circulation in the Western world, along with the literary artifacts of the Greco-Roman antiquity, Medieval Latin and the natural circulation of proverbs from one nation to another (Mieder 2014b: 28-48).

[2] "These proverbs have become so well integrated into various European languages that native speakers often are not at all aware of the fact any longer that they are citing Biblical wisdom when using them" (Mieder 2014b: 35).

2. The architecture of proverb variation

When Ferdinand de Saussure defined language as an abstract system of signs used to express ideas, the Swiss linguist also theorized two types of arrangements of language units. The associative order reveals the constellations in the sign network. Simply put, linguistic signs cluster in families and fields on the basis of the semiotic similarities and differences created among them. For example, a noun like *man* may be placed in the network of its lexical siblings, *mankind, manhood, manliness, manwise* and the like, or it may viewed in the larger constellation of a field, revealed by such oppositions as *man* (human) – *gorilla, man* (male) – *woman, man* (grown-up) – *boy* (child), *man* (husband) – *wife, man* (father) – *son, man* (brave) – *coward* and so on. The syntagmatic order highlights the succession of language units. According to F. de Saussure ([1916]1959: 123), "the elements are arranged in sequence on the chain of speaking", and the combinations are composed of "two or more consecutive units": (E.) *re-apprais-al* – (Rom.) *re-evalua-re*. The syntagmatic order signals that simple language units may be combined to build more complex elements. Therefore, morphemes and lexemes can be combined to form derivatives, compounds, collocations, idioms, phrases, utterances and texts. The associative arrangement uncovers the non-linear clusters called into relation by a given sign. Therefore, paradigms like the lexical family, the lexical field or the semasiological relations such as synonymy and antonymy bring forth the range of resources provided by a certain language in order to express a given message.

In the light of the Saussurean semiotic model, at least two intertwined methodological approaches have been adopted in proverb research: the macrostructural approach and the microstructural approach. The macrostructural approach consists in regarding proverbs as complex linguistic signs organized in constellations and types of combinations. For example, Romanian researchers like Constantin Negreanu (1983) adopted this view in an attempt to sample a range of *ethnofields* (conceptual fields) configured by proverbs interpreted as *ethnosigns*. This is shown in Figure 1:
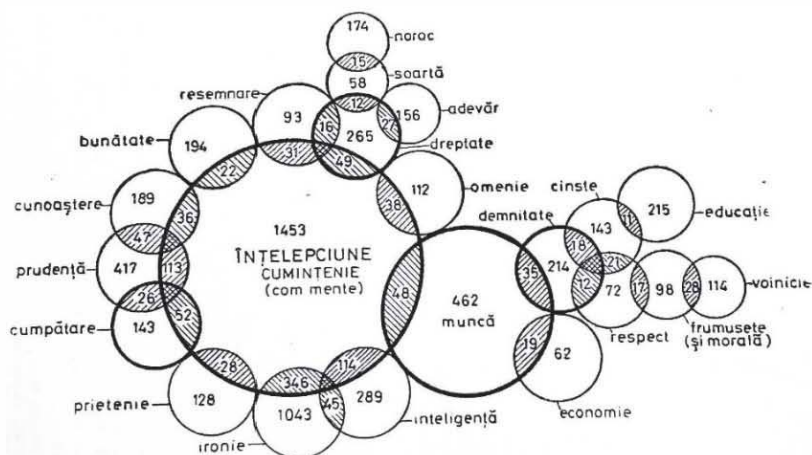
Figure 1. The ethnofields of Romanian proverbs according to Negreanu 1983: 50.

Legend: The numbers in the circles express the number of proverbs for each category represented in the corpus. For his research, Negreanu used 5994 proverbs divided in 22 ethnofields: 1. înțelepciune (wisdom) — 1453 items; 2. ironie (irony) — 1043 items; 3. muncă (work) — 462 items; 4. prudență (prudence) — 417 items; 5. inteligență (intelligence) — 289 items; 6. dreptate (justice) — 265 items; 7. educație (education) — 215 items; 8. demnitate (dignity) — 214 items; 9. bunătate (kindness) — 194 items; 10. cunoaștere (knowledge) — 189 items; 11. noroc (luck) — 174 items; 12. adevăr (truth) — 156 items; 13. cinste (honesty) — 143 items; 14. cumpătare (moderation) — 143 items; 15. prietenie (friendship) — 128 items; 16. voinicie (bravery) — 114 items; 17. omenie (humaneness) — 112 items; 18. frumusețe (beauty) — 98 items; 19. resemnare (resignation) — 93 items; 20. respect (respect) — 72 items; 21. economie (economy) — 62 items; 22. soartă (fate) — 58 items. A proverb was included in more than one ethnofield, as shown by the tinted parts of the interconnected circles.

Negreanu concludes that wisdom (Rom. *înțelepciune*) "is a defining concept for the Romanian soul" (Negreanu 1983: 32), but one may wonder: a) if not all proverbs are emblems of wisdom, since they inquire, from a reflexive angle, the qualities and the flaws of human nature and b) on what grounds were the ethnofields established, given that the conceptual categories were rather arbitrarily established, by assigning keywords to the proverbs extracted from dictionaries? Additionally, the overall picture of the Romanian proverbial ethnofields seems incomplete if one takes into account the exhaustive paremiological taxonomies advanced by G. W. Wood (1894), Matti Kuusi (1972) and G. Permyakov (1979).

Moreover, Negreanu overviews the syntax of Romanian proverbs and analyzes a set of syntagmatic patterns displayed by the proverbs included in the corpus, but the discussed phenomena (the subjective, the attributive, the temporal and the conditional subordinate clauses, negation, juxtaposition, repetition etc.) are not proverb specific. In Negreanu's monograph, the prosodic, grammatical and semantic properties of proverbs are often praised for their stylistic virtues and deemed as achievements of the aesthetic genius of folklore, but the author overlooks the detail that many proverbs were excerpted from the literary works of various Romanian writers and subsequently included in glossaries and dictionaries as though they were gathered from the life and language of ordinary people. This misguided approach does not reveal the mind and language of folklore, but the discursive traditions of the learned.

A more reliable structural model was developed by Permyakov (1979: 148–155). In his logico-semiotic theory on cliché[3], the taxonomy of the paremiological units[4] is built on six pairs of structural properties, out of which three characterize the external structure[5] of any paremia, and three, its internal structure[6]. Consequently, proverbs are deemed as: i) synthetic, ii) phrasal, iii) closed and iv) image-motivated paremiological units. In other words, proverbs are structurally defined as fully clichéized polysemantic utterances with image-motivated meanings. Although meticulously constructed, structural models of this sort reflect, according to Krikmann (1985: 73), the "essential misconception" that proverbs are

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[3] See Grzybek (2014: 103 106) for a synoptic presentation of Permyakov's structural approach.

[4] In Permyakov's view, paremias are equated with clichés, but they are not to be confounded with the ordinary phraseological units.

[5] According to their external linguistic structure, clichés are classified according to the distinction between phrasal units (i.e. units consisting of single sentences) and supra-phrasal units (i.e. units consisting of short strings of sentences). Furthermore, phrasal units are divided into closed (i.e. fully clichéized) and open (i.e. not fully clichéized) units, whereas supra-phrasal paremias are separated into monologic (i.e. units that can be reproduced by one person) and dialogic (i.e. clichés which take at least two persons to be reproduced) clichés.

[6] In the light of their internal linguistic structure (a concept related to Humboldt's 'innere Sprachform'), paremias are classified according to the distinction between synthetic (polysemantic) and analytic (monosemantic) clichés. Each of these types is subsequently divided into subclasses, according to the presence or the absence of general meaning motivation, and the result is a further division between motivated and non-motivated units, either synthetic or analytic. As far as the motivated units are concerned, they are also classified into image-motivated and directly-motivated paremias.

frozen fixed-form clichés. In oral communication, argues Krikmann (1985: 75), proverbs typically display "a rich and multidimensional variability" in lexis, syntax and euphonic patterns, and this argument allows the statement that proverbs, like any other type of language phenomena, obey the same mechanisms of language evolution and change, on the one hand, and the powerful pressure of certain socio-cultural traditions (Bland, 1997: 1–21; ●belkevich, 1987: 43–72), on the other.

The microstructural approach is discernible in proverb lexicography and focuses on the quest to pinpoint the markers of proverbiality. The method mainly seeks to distinguish the paremiological invariant from its variants, to identify the formal and semantic mechanisms that ensure the 'frozenness' of proverbs, to capture the meaning values of a proverb (context-free vs. context-dependent; denotative/literal vs. conotative/figurative), or to include proverbs in various conceptual categories, based on a finite set of oppositions. In truth, the microstructural approach constitutes the core of the macrostructural approach, so that a clear-cut separation between the two pathways is unproductive. I mention it only to follow a thin epistemological line between the case-study structural frame, as illustrated by Tamar Alexander & Galit Hasan-Rokem (1988), and the semiotic foundations of the structural analytical tools applied to proverb research, as reviewed by Peter Grzybek (2014: 67-111).

In the post-Saussurean times, the Norwegian Romanist Leiv Flydal tackled the idea that the historical panorama of language evolution and the speaker's time frame of language use are opposite fields of scientific scrutiny. According to F. de Saussure, if the linguist adopts the synchronic perspective of the speaker then he must discard the diachronic perspective of language history, since the succession of language facts in time "does not exist insofar as the speaker is concerned" (de Saussure [1916]1959: 81). Simply put, the common speaker cannot possibly know and use the entire chain of language states that make up the diachronic fabric of language. Against this view, Flydal (1952: 241) claims that speakers are sometimes aware that they use words pertaining to distinct languages states. In other words, the Norwegian linguist assumes that the speech style of any individual may reveal temporal, spatial and social differences which coexist in the linguistic conscience of the speaker. Time, space and social organization shape distinct yet simultaneous language states that interweave and make up the fabric of language architecture ((Fr.) *architecture de langue*), defined as a systematic arrangement of collaborative parts. When someone speaks, the occasional use of archaic features, the presence of regionalisms and the use of either professional

jargon or vulgar words act as markers that indicate, in line with each of the three parameters, the speaker's complex communicative behaviour.

As explained by Eugenio Coseriu (1967: 33), if we focus on the language of the moment, we notice that the geographical (diatopical) and the socio-cultural (diastratic) differences in speech also correlate with stylistic (diaphasic) differences. Following Flydal, Coseriu argues that each of these variation parameters acts as a systemic reference point, meaning that one axis of variation unveils the differences on the other axes, as follows: each local language displays diastratic and diaphasic differences, each social dialect displays diatopical and diaphasic differences, each style displays diatopical and diastratic differences. According to the model, "a historical language is never *one single* "linguistic system", but a "diasystem": an 'ensemble' of "linguistic systems" between which there is at every stage co-existence and interference" (Coseriu, 1967: 33).

In a nutshell, the multidimensional variation of language architecture theorized by Flydal and Coseriu highlights the evolution of language at the crossroads of time, space, social structure and style and if we are to observe the life of proverbs in the light of this variationist approach, then we must consider proverbs as texts that undergo chronological, geographical, socio-cultural and stylistic changes. Against the view that proverbs are fixed-structured utterances, formal and semantic flexibility ensure their adaptability. Any reliable dictionary of proverbs reveals that proverbs change over time, and their (synchronic) immutability is, for the speaker, only a matter of appearance, not of essence. In fact, if one adopts the classical rhetorical framework of *quadripartita ratio* evoked by Quintilian (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, c. 35 - c. 100 AD) (Inst. Orat. 1.5.38) and revived in Group μ's general rhetoric (1970 [1981]), it is rather easy to notice that paremiological units may vary according to the rhetorical operations of *addition* (adiectio), *omission* (detractio), *permutation* (immutatio) and *transposition* (transmutatio). For example, a proverb of the Biblical origin like *Birds of a feather flock together* (Mieder, 1990: 65) enjoys stability and recognition as well as a rich variety of linguistic remodelling across time, space, social structure and style. In the 16th century, the proverb had a slightly different form: *Byrds of a fether, best flye together* (1578, Tilley, 1950: 50). According to the 17th century sources, the proverb was used with longer forms: *Birds of a feather and a kinde, will still together flocke* (1607, Apperson 1929: 48), *Birds of a feather will always use to flock and feed together* (1613, Smith 1935: 68). The American and Canadian inventory refer to the first English (1545) and US (1674) written records of the proverb and certify the use of

the following variants: *Birds of a feather flock together, Birds of a color flock together* and *Birds of a feather will fly together* (Mieder et al. 1996: 52). Whereas the British historical dictionaries of proverbs follow the use mainly in the written language of the learned and outline the literary tradition, the American Dictionary of Proverbs illustrates the written usage as well as the spoken language of the folk. With regard to style and textual genre it is important to take note of the Biblical prototype. In the book of Ecclesiasticus[7] (27.9) one can find that truth comes of those who practice it just like "birds consort with their kind". With reference to people who share similar views and interests, be they good or bad, the biblical quote gave rise to collocations (*birds of a kind / birds of a feather*) and made its way into a folk proverb by means of the rhetorical operations discussed by Quintilian. This is shown in table 2.

Table 2: Rhetorical operations and proverbs: *Birds of a feather flock together*

Quadripartita ratio	Examples
addition (adiectio)	*Byrdes of on kynde and color flok and flye allwayes together*[8] (1545)
omission (detractio)	*Birds of a feather* (1666, Tilley 1950: 50)
permutation (immutatio)	*Friends of a feather* [9] *(stick/ stay together)* (1977)
transposition (transmutatio)	*Birds of a flock, feather together*[10] (2015) *Birds of a flock stick together*[11] (2018)

To say that addition, subtraction, substitution and transposition ensure the prosodic, grammatical and semantic variability of proverbs means to picture an incomplete variationist landscape. By the end of the Renaissance, or more precisely in the second half of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth centuries the vogue for proverbs was at its height, with more new sayings appearing than in any other period; (…) Proverbs might turn up anywhere – not only in texts and in speech but in such improbable media as tapestries, plates, knife blades and sun dials. They were also voluminously collected (Obelkevich, 1987: 56–57).

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[7] All Biblical references are from *the New Jerusalem Bible* (NJB).

[8] https://hubpages.com/literature/Bird-Idioms-and-Proverbs-and-Their-Possible-Origins

[9] https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/24810596/

[10] https://twitter.com HerOnlySelf/status/555087612588097537

[11] https://twitter.com DuanelBarker/status/966908627805126656

Since then, proverbs conquered new geographic, social and cultural territories and they are currently present not only in the oral and written communication of the ordinary people with various social and educational backgrounds, but also in a wide array of public domains of cultural life: arts & literature, politics, mass-media & advertising, science, online communication & social media etc. It would probably be more accurate to identify the areas with no proverb use and it seems safe to presume that the advent of the internet has favoured the flourishing of a digital golden age of proverbs.

As shown by recent research (e.g. Villers, 2015; 2016), the life of proverbs can be described as a chain of stages that begins with *induction,* defined as the set of circumstances that trigger the birth of proverbs, continues with *coinage,* which may be either voluntary or involuntary, individual or collective, monogenetic or polygenetic, and outlines *exposure* (propagation), which can be simultaneous or subsequent to coinage, and carried out by primary or secondary agents who use a certain proverb for a shorter or longer time. The exposure stage is followed by *dissemination,* the longest phase in proverbiogenesis, consisting of proverb expansion in various media and by various types of agents, both individuals and institutions, the simplest pattern being 'liniar', i.e. from mouth to mouth, and the most complex, 'radial', i.e. constellational. The dissemination completes with *reference loss,* the stage in which proverbs become a common good in the mind of the folk.

Correspondingly, obsolescence, understood as the process that leads to proverb death (Villers, 2015) may be due to artificial or natural causes, among which one must consider the humorous or satirical deconstructions of proverbs, and the loss of popularity due to the dynamic nature of the complex relationships among mind, language and reality. In short, we must discern between the objective and the subjective factors that shape the evolutionary course of proverb use. Some proverbs fall out of use because the realities they refer to are displaced by new realities. Such are the proverbs speaking about places, trades or traditions that no longer exist (see Tilley 1950: vi). Other proverbs are discarded from use because the public taste no longer includes them in the active stock. Such are the proverbs containing archaic or regional words and structures that come out of use as well as proverbs pertaining to old-fashioned styles of private and public address. The relevant examples of this sort are the medieval florilegia of wisdom like *Fiore di virtù* (E. *The Flower of virtues*) and the mirrors of the princes which greatly contributed to the international dissemination of many aphorisms and proverbs, only to be shadowed and replaced by more potent works like the *Adagia* of Erasmus and the

subsequent proverb lexicography that flourished on the fertile soil of the Erasmian tradition. This erudite literary tradition intertwined with the venerable and great tradition of letter-writing and was rivalled, in the 19th century, by the vogue of proverbs quoted in media and advertising. Even preliminary attempts to trace the evolutionary paths of proverb use such as the present one should not overlook the fact that journalistic styles changed greatly in the last two hundred years. This, for instance, becomes apparent if one compares the European fin-de-siècle adornment of newspaper articles with Latin maxims, aphorisms and quotes with the post-WWII reluctance to prolong such a fashion. Prior to 1900, the elegant and intellectual style of the Viennese press was imitated both within and outside the boundaries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but the interwar period witnessed the reluctance of resorting to Latin formulae like *Bellum omnium contra omnes* (Hobbes), *Non multa, sed multum, Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus* (Horace), *Si vis pacem para bellum* or *Ubi bene, ibi patria* (Cicero) in the op-ed sections of newspapers.

At a closer look, the variation of proverbs across time, space, social structure and style should not be regarded as a monolithic process but as a lively competition among discursive traditions. The history of each text-type presents itself as the background against which the life of proverbs should be observed. Within each discursive tradition, be it folkloric, religious, literary, epistolary, journalistic or of some other sort, the evolutionary study of proverbs should be carried out bearing in mind several distinctions related to the following aspects:

a) It is complicated to pinpoint the birth of proverbs in line with the oral/written overarching dichotomy of language use. In this respect, the donor/recipient distinction proves useful to reveal the waves of proverbial flow, since a proverb coined in oral interaction may enjoy a long life in written sources before resuming oral circulation. It is safe to assume that the oral tradition may serve as donor for a written recipient, which, in turn, may act as donor for the same or for another oral tradition. Particularly revealing in this regard is the erudite and interesting study of Westermann (1995) on the affinities between the proverbs of the Bible and the proverbs of earlier Sumerian and Egyptian traditions. An equally important finding is that the teaching of Jesus, which the contemporary reader of the New Testament currently considers as the words of God, "belong to common popular wisdom" of the time when the Synoptic Gospels were originally written. More precisely, evangelical quotes like *Whoever draws the sword, dies by the sword* (Matt. 26:52), *No one can serve two masters* (Matt. 6:24), *Many who are the first will be the last* (Matt. 20: 16, Mark 10:31) or *All things are possible with God* (Mark 10:27) had oral Jewish proverbial

prototypes and subsequently entered the proverbial stock of many
Christian cultures once the Bible was translated in more than 800
languages. The Scripture was the written recipient of a rich oral tradition
which was either explicitly[12] or implicitly[13] preserved in writing and it was
later passed on as Christian legacy to the peoples who revered and
translated the Holly Book. The Bible was not only the vast recipient to
treasure the wisdom of archaic cultures but also a great donor of proverbs
consistently disseminated in various strands of the religious, literary,
epistolary and journalistic discursive traditions. From sermons and
homilies to advertising and cartoons, from moral or philosophical letters to
e-mails and the networks of social media, from florilegia to the online
editions of the newspapers, the proverbs of the Bible travelled through
time, space, social structure and style.

b) Given that proverbs of the Biblical origins are the linguistic and
cultural products of translation, it seems adequate to distinguish between a
translation and an original work. This distinction might prove its worth
when we comment on proverb diffusion across styles and registers. For
example, the Latin quote *Radix malorum est cupiditas* (1 Tim. 6:10), also
rephrased as *Radix omnium malorum avaritia, Avaritia est radix omnium
malorum* or *Radix omnium malorum est amor pecuniae*, could be
connected with St. Jerome's translation of the Vulgate by the end of the 4th
century A.D. Since then, the Latin phrase was quoted in the discourse of
the learned and it was mainly used in such religious texts as letters,
homilies and pastorals before it was translated in English as *The love of
money is the root of all evil* (King James Bible, 1611). The verse
ultimately turned into the proverb *Money is the root of all evil*. The
uninterrupted religious use as a piece of wisdom targeted against the ill
effects of avarice did not obliterate the biblical source. On the contrary, the
Scripture acted as a constant reminder of the deadly consequences of
covetousness and favoured the birth of a small sapiential 'tree':
*Covetousness is the root of all wickedness, Riches are the root of all evil,
Idleness is the mother (nurse, root) of all evil (vice, sin)* and *Pride is the
root of all sin* (Tilley, 1950: 124). More precisely, a threefold modelling
was in use after the 15th century: i. *Covetousness is the root of all evil*
(Tilley, 1950: 124), ii. *Idleness is the mother (nurse, root) of all evil (vice,
sin)* (Tilley 1950: 337) and iii. *Pride is the root of all sin* (Tilley, 1950:
556). In the American sources of the 19th and 20th centuries, the

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[12] The explicit mention of the oral tradition is rather parsimonious in the Bible.
See, for example, Ezek. 18:2, and its correspondence with Jer. 31:29-30.
[13] The tacit infusion of folklore in the Bible is presented in studies such as Dundes
(1999).

competition among cognates implied two proverbial patterns: A. *Money is the root/source of all evil* and B. *Idleness is the mother/root of evil/vices/mischief* (Mieder et al. 1996: 324, 416). Needless to say, the competing patterns fall under the same centuries-old Biblical view that stigmatizes sin. In contemporary times, however, the rhetorical blame of vices like avarice, greed, idleness and pride stands in contrast with the rhetorical praise of money and wealth, a rather recent pattern that gained ground in online communication: *Money is the root of all progress/ wealth/ happiness*. This model focused on the potential outcome of free-market economy signals that making money and getting rich is not necessarily a hallmark of evil. It also suggests that in the realm of proverbs recycling plays an important role in the renewal of folk wisdom. The rhetorical distance between the Biblical view and the liberal view also reveals that the proverbial equation *X is the root of all Y* shifted from the traditional religious domain to other domains: literature, business, the media and the like. Texts like *Corruption is the root of all crimes*[14], *Knowledge is the root of all good*[15] and *Evil is the root of all money*[16] indicate that the dynamic and intertextual world of online newspaper editions, blogs, and social networks preserves the conservative view but, at the same time, encourages innovation.

c) The chronological, geographic, social and stylistic variability of proverbs discloses that new proverbs grow out of the old stock. The better a proverb is known, the more likely are its chances to develop variants. Nowadays, the prototypical form *Birds of a feather flock together* is easily recognized in journalistic headlines like *Stokes of a feather fly together at Ohio State*[17] or *Pilots of a feather fly together*[18], in funny hybrid book titles such as *Pigs of a feather fly together*[19], created by the stylistic fusion between an idiom, *when pigs fly*, and the already mentioned proverb, or in artwork titles like *Souls of a feather fly high together*[20]. It is wrong or inadequate to assume that any well-known and widespread proverb usually develops a rich constellation of variants? In this respect, social media networks like Twitter display a plethora of ephemeral proverb-like texts

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[14] http://amandala.com.bz/news/corruption-root-crimes/

[15] https://www.pinterest.com/pin/334462709802136543/

[16] http://andolfatto.blogspot.ro/2012/09/evil-is-root-of-all-money.html

[17] https://www.thelantern.com/2012/02/stokes-of-a-feather-fly-together-at-ohio-state/

[18] https://m.salisburypost.com/2011/05/31/pilots-of-a-feather-fly-together/

[19] https://www.amazon.com Pigs-Feather-Fly-Together-Rosebud-ebook/dp/B00CSUKEH4

[20] https://fineartamerica.com/featured/souls-of-a-feather-fly-high-together-laura-scott.html

inspired by the proverb *Money is the root of all evil*: *Expectation is the root of all heartache*[21], *poverty is the root of all evil*[22], *desire is the root of all suffering*[23], *Love is the root of all happiness*[24] etc.

3. Instead of conclusion

Given that the identity of proverbs has been considered from a wide array of scientific perspectives, ranging from folklore and communication studies, to psychology and semiotics, to name but a few approaches (Grzybek, 1987; Honeck, 1997; Mieder, 1997: 410-414; Mieder, 2004; Norrick, 1985; Taylor, 1962), the endeavour to define proverbs has become a challenging enterprise. In spite of the difficulties pointed out with regard to the genesis of proverbs, their formal and semantic properties, the functions they enact in human communication or the cultural and cognitive values they convey, scholars such as Wolfgang Mieder sought to pinpoint a minimal set of relevant descriptive features. Drawing on a set of 55 popular definitions, Mieder (1985: 199) concluded that, from an empirical standpoint, "a proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorizable form and which is handed down from generation to generation". Grounded in the general public's intuition of what a proverb is, this folk-oriented definitional modelling implicitly attempts at balancing the competition for the most adequate scientific definition of proverbs. At the time Mieder worked on the idea that proverbs should be defined in accordance with the properties perceived by the folk, the scholarly modelling of proverb definitions followed several sometimes divergent scientific pathways. In linguistics, for instance, every important school of linguistic thought passed on its scientific legacy in the field of paremiology and there is not much doubt that a similarly dynamic landscape was to be found in other major areas of proverb research: folklore, literary studies or psychology. In fact, friendly competition among scholars helped the theoretical advancements in paremiology gain prestige and interdisciplinary edification.

Regardless that the definition reflects the common peoples' perceptions or the prerequisites of a certain scientific method, some issues difficult to overcome when defining proverbs stem from the limits of the models used to describe the complex reality of proverb use, since proverbs

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21 https://twitter.com Friendstagram/status/971204319730126850
22 https://twitter.com/CrazyClarine/status/973173503322218497
23 https://twitter.com/slightly_somber/status/973003409665200128
24 https://twitter.com/JosonMcllisse/status/970923960199081984

do not rely on the immutability of their prosody, syntax and meaning, but rather on a flexible and easily recognizable framework traditionally referred to as 'proverbial', in the sense that the speaker possesses both the knowledge and the ability to repeat or to create a text by using syntactic moulds steadily labelled as markers of formulaicity and proverbiality. Proverbs are discrete, versatile texts and where there is language there are proverbs.

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Umberto Eco's 'The Name of the Rose' in Semiotic Imagination and Intangible Memories

Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja

Abstract

This chapter explores connotative entanglements of semiotic web hidden in Umberto Eco's debut novel *The name of the Rose* (1980) through the perspective of color psychology. First of all, the functions of a historical novel are interrogated and against this background I cast the intertextuality of The Aedificium's Labyrinth and visually interpret particular semiotic ways to find the mysterious murderer. Tracing the spatial and metaphysical dimension of the *maze* through the literary medieval world of the novel, as an artist, I also engage in a painterly dialogue with the intangible dimension of protagonists' ordeals.

Key terms: The Name of the Rose, historical novel, Umberto Eco's theory of signs, the labyrinth, intangible memories.

1. Introduction

Hugh of St. Victor (c. 1096-1141) disclosed on memory from the perspective of material wealth in "The Three Best Memory-Aids for Learning History". To explain the necessity for storing information, he adopted a metaphor: memories should be exchanged to distribute a culture like money. As an example, a historical fiction deals with action in a specific historical period and describes its traditions and mindset. It provides insight into the emotions of contemporary readers, making them experience an intangible value beyond time and space. However, the culture, traditions, and mindsets of medieval literature which have been written about by contemporary authors can raise the question of authenticity in memories between the past and present.

Umberto Eco's 1980 debut novel, *The Name of the Rose,* is a historical murder mystery set in Saint Michael's Abbey in northern Italy. In 1327, Franciscan friar William of Baskerville and Benedictine novice Adso of Melk travelled there to attend a theological disputation. Upon their arrival they found the monastery troubled by a suicide that was followed by further mysterious deaths of monks. William was put in charge of the investigation, discovering a labyrinthine library with the Inquisition of the heresy of the Waldensians and Jesus' Gospel. His curiosity, logic and deduction solved the abbey's mysteries, while the murderer's death in a fire burned down the Romanesque abbey.

Although the characterisation of historical figures in the novel is not always handled accurately, a few of them are authentic. And Eco's post-modern style of writing leads to uncertainty without meaning, which provokes an inquiry into the text-image relationship. "Should historical yet imaginary texts correspond to their images?" In fact, a combination of texts with images has enjoyed a long history. Medieval manuscripts interlaced with various types of images display a rhetorical association for the layered meaning. William Blake's writing in conjunction with illustrations in the 18th century evoked more meanings.

With this background, my paper discusses the semiotic, connotative texts in Eco's THE NAME OF THE ROSE through several images. It experiments with the hidden messages of the novel and asks whether contemporary readers' understanding of medieval history can be enhanced.

2. Functions of Historical Fictions

The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms (2008) defines a historical novel as "a novel in which the action takes place during a specific historical period well before the time of writing, and in which some attempt is made to depict accurately the customs and mentality of the period."

Regardless of the time it is written, a historical novel is a past narrative of the community actions and social conditions, and its material can be partial or whole. In general, this type of novel has been read for enjoyment, offering readers struggles, conflicts, and the emotions of hope, fear, joy, and despair experienced by people in the past. It enables them to experience historical journeys and to sense the continuity of life. As a cumulative entity and a progressive flow of history, Gillespie (2008) claims that readers can obtain a sense of how to adapt to their present situation, how to assess the present relative to the past, and how to decide

their place in all this. They observe that human nature remains the same across different life conditions.

Furthermore, a historical fiction brings perspective and appropriate goals into readers' lives by demonstrating survivals and solutions in earlier times. The present life is a result of people's past behaviour and plays a decisive role in their future achievement. Above all, it adds a different dimension to history.

There are a variety of views on what degrees of artistic creativity are allowed for fictional elements. For the actions and experiences of fictional characters, the only limitation could be the author's imagination, but the story should remain correct in the historical record of actual events and people. However, another view allows the author to place actual people into imaginary situations, as long as the historical result remains unchanged.

3. The Name of the Rose

The Name of the Rose (Italian: *Il nome della rosa*) is the 1980 debut novel by Italian author Umberto Eco. It was translated into English by William Weaver in 1983. The novel is an intellectual mystery conjoining semiotics with biblical analysis, medieval studies, literary theory, and fiction.

Franciscan friar William of Baskerville and Adso of Melk, a Benedictine novice under William's protection, visit a Benedictine monastery and find that it has recently suffered the death of a monk. As the story develops, other monks die under mysterious circumstances, encouraging William to start an investigation into their deaths, commissioned by the monastery's abbot. New evidence with each murder victim takes William to dead ends and fresh clues.

The two protagonists explore the labyrinthine Aedificium library and face the Inquisition, a reaction to the 12th-century heresy of the Waldensians, who claimed their adherence to the Gospel taught by Jesus and his disciples. The Spirituals, a group within the Franciscan order, demand the absolute abandonment of the Church's wealth, while the majority of Franciscans and clergy had a broader interpretation of the Gospel. Finally, William's inherent curiosity and logical powers unravel the abbey's mysteries.

A number of the characters, such as the Inquisitor Bernard Gui and Ubertino of Casale, are historical figures, but their characterisation in the novel is not always historically precise. And the techniques of storytelling are mixed with partial fictionalization and intentional linguistic ambiguity.

The solution to the mysterious murder depends on the contents of Aristotle's book on comedy, of which no copy survives. Nevertheless, Eco's intellectual presumptions and imagination depict it rationally and make the characters react to it properly in their medieval setting.
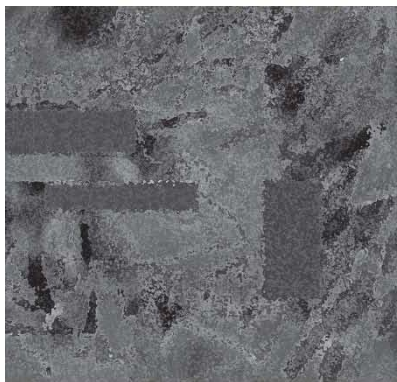

Figure 1. Orthodoxy and heresy in confusion and turmoil. (Image: the Author)

Colour psychology explores how our brain perceives what it visualizes. Red is associated with energy/danger/power, symbolising passion/desire/love. Yellow stands for happiness/intellect, suggesting honour/loyalty, but later cowardice. Blue expresses depth/stability, interpreting wisdom/faith/truth. Purple is linked to royalty/dignity/mystery/magic. It means power/nobility/ ambition. Notions of white are innocence/purity/virginity, signifying simplicity/perfection. Black is death/evil and denotes strength/authority.

Eco is a post-modernist in theory and his *The Name of the Rose* testifies to this. For example, Butler (2002) quotes Eco's *Postscript*: "Thus I rediscovered what writers have always known (and have told us again and again): books always speak of other books, and every story tells a story that has already been told." It refers to a post-modern notion that all texts constantly refer to other texts, rather than to external reality. In a post-modern style, the novel ends with uncertainty without a pattern. Instead, Eco turns the modernist search for conclusiveness, conviction and meaning on its head, leaving the overall plot to be the result of accident and lack of meaning. Even the novel's title alludes to the options of numerous meanings in vagueness. Eco says in *Postscript to the Name of the Rose* (1984:506) that he selected the title "because the rose is a

symbolic figure so rich in meanings that by now it hardly has any meaning left".

Much attention has been paid to the title of the book. In one version of the story, when Eco completed the writing of the novel, he suggested ten names, asking his friends to select one. They chose *The Name of the Rose*. In another version, Eco proposed the title "Adso of Melk", but this was rejected by his publisher, and so the eventual naming with *The Name of the Rose* came as a result of an unexpected chance. However, the novel's last line, "*Stat rosa pristina nomine, nomina nuda tenemus*" translates as: "the rose of old remains only in its name; we possess naked names." Therefore, for Eco, the name is only kept in the beauty of the past (now disappeared). The lost "rose" could be interpreted as Aristotle's book on comedy (forever lost) or the exquisite library (now destroyed) or the beautiful peasant girl (now dead).

4. The Aedificium's Labyrinth

In the novel, the library is not merely an expression of an excessive architectural fantasy, but it reflects itself metaphysically in the plot with the three main characters. The architectural form is superimposed onto the storyline and its perplexities. Revealing mysterious murders entails swerving to wrong directions and dead ends. Altogether the library structure consists of 56 rooms surrounding the central room, which are contained within four towers and the interim space. Each of the rooms features a scroll with a particular verse from the Book of Revelation.

According to Eco, the Middle Ages is an additional character in his novel rather than simple scenery. Therefore, he attached significance to the surroundings and architecture, as shown in the library designed to be a vessel for the plot, where the main activities take place. Before Eco started the writing of the novel, he had drawn numerous plans and sketches, in order to create the compound of the abbey. He paid close attention to every detail and historical precision. In the course of writing, he kept in mind the ground plans of the buildings, and the specific importance of the library is highlighted with the additional ground plan within the pages of the novel. Revealing the ways through the library with all its rooms and inscriptions allows readers to follow William and Adso's discoveries inside the labyrinth. In the first few pages, Adso describes his first stunned impressions of the abbey, particularly the Aedificium construction, wherein the library is located.

> *I was amazed, not by the walls that girded it on every side, similar to others to be seen in all the Christian world, but by the bulk of what I later*

> *learned was the Aedificium. This was an octagonal construction that from*
> *a distance seemed a tetragon (a perfect form, which expresses the*
> *sturdiness and impregnability of the City of God), [...]. (NR 21)*

Moreover, Adso's feelings are reinforced by the following conversation with the abbot. The two protagonists, William and Adso, learn that the library is a spiritual and mundane labyrinth at the same time. The abbot spells out the prohibition of entering the library. Only a selected few, such as the librarian and his assistant, are permitted to enter the world of books, which provokes the protagonists' curiosity and suspicions.

In fact, Eco found a historical reference to the Aedificium in the Castel del Monte, built around 1240 in Apulia, Italy. Nevertheless, its plan is differentiated by the type of library because Eco's Aedificium accommodates the kitchen and the refectory on the ground floor and the scriptorium in the upper floor and the library above it. He invented a building type by combining the kitchen and the library in the same building with the intention of creating the possibility of a kitchen fire, which would risk the valuable books stored in the library. In other words, Eco's Aedificium is a semiotic symbol for the oppositional struggle between spiritual yearning and carnal desire within human minds.

There are a few reasons for the construction of the library as a labyrinth. Eco was influenced by the contemporary floor patterns for displaying labyrinths inside medieval churches. Moreover, his idea goes beyond the spatial qualities of describing an ideal library. In order to do so, Eco uses the image of an anti-model in the library building for the novel. This means: there is neither a laid-out pattern nor open access to borrowing the books. The library is not a collective container of knowledge. The abbot utters:

> *If God has now given our order a mission, it is to oppose this race to the*
> *abyss, by preserving, repeating, and defending the treasure of wisdom our*
> *fathers entrusted to us. (NR 36)*

Consequently, the labyrinthine ground plan creates an Aedificium resembling the image of a prison. The library is constructed as a maze of branching alleys and dead ends. Another source of references to the library is Jorge Luis Borges' *The Library of Babel* (1941), which describes an erected world as an infinite, labyrinthine library. The monks have become so possessive of their books that they have forgotten the purpose for which they are kept, even not allowing others to share the knowledge contained therein. The library has become a stagnant entity, instead of a vital force for the abbey members or other potential patrons.
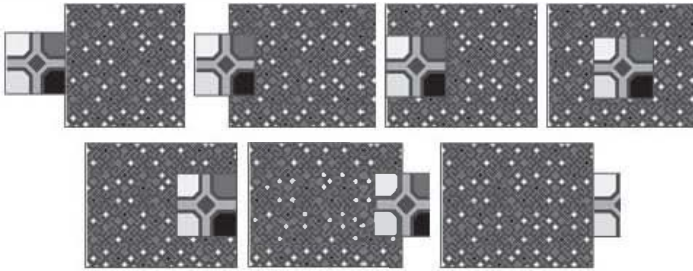
Figure 2. Two protagonists' seven semiotic ways to find the mysterious murderer: From the entrance of the library to its exit through a labyrinth. (Image: the Author)

As William continues his investigation, he is convinced that the solution to the murders lies within the library. All of the murdered monks have direct contact with the library, and all the clues to William's deduction lead to the library. He is resolute that the solution to the library must be discovered. One night, William takes Adso with him to investigate the library. The results are unsuccessful. They lose their way several times and almost renounce the hope of finding their way-out before they see an exit by chance. Yet it is impossible to try to solve the labyrinth from inside the library because the possibilities are too limited; as one moves within it, one is constantly changing directions and therefore cannot visualize the whole labyrinth. William tells Adso, "we must find, from the outside, a way of describing the Aedificium as it is inside [...]." (NR 215).

In this regard, Colletti (1988) maintains that the Aedificium represents a culture interpreted as a typology of opposites as the locus of its most important events. It is an emblem of the prevailing culture itself, structured symbolically, ordered hierarchically, and sanctioned institutionally. Adso's first sight of it obtains a description of an official cultural system with orders and meanings in number:

> *Three rows of windows proclaimed the triune rhythm of its elevation, so that what was physically squared on the earth was spiritually triangular in the sky. As we came closer, we realized that the quadrangular form included, at each of its corners, a heptagonal tower, five sides of which were visible on the outside... And thus anyone can see the admirable concord of so many holy numbers, each revealing a subtle spiritual significance. Eight, the number of perfection for every tetragon; four, the number of the Gospels; five, the number of the zones of the world; seven, the number of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. (NR 21-22)*

Moreover, the novel communicates the monastic affection for books and the life of letters, demonstrating how the love of learning is fashioned by God. In his first appearance, the abbot speaks to William about the Benedictine propagation and preservation of learning:

> *And our order, growing up under the double command of work and prayer, was light to the whole known world, depository of knowledge, salvation of an ancient learning that threatened to disappear... until the triumph, however brief, of the foul beast that is the Antichrist, it is up to us to defend the treasure of the Christian world, and the very word of God, as he dictated it to the prophets and to the apostles, as the fathers repeated it without changing a syllable... And as long as these walls stand, we shall be custodians of the divine Word. (NR 36-37)*

5. Semiotics of Eco's Theory of Signs

A Theory of Semiotics (Eco: 1976) is a detailed explanation of Eco's theory of signs. The reader has an active role in textual interpretation because signs are built based on an inferential model.

Signs are the beginning of a process that guides the reader through a continuous series of progressive consequences and open devices, evoking meanings. This open quality of signs puts forward an active role for the reader in their interpretation. By defining the theory of signs as infinite possibilities for interpreting a text, Eco argues that semiotics has moved to the important position of the reader in understanding the signs discovered in the text.

Therefore, the author can create two kinds of texts (closed or open) for the reader. A closed text is designed to elicit a specific response from the reader, but it is actually open to interpretations. In general, a text is considered as closed because it does not take the reader's ability to interpret a variety of readings into account. Conversely, the reader of the open text feels comfortable with the labyrinthine structure of the text being read in two ways: naively or critically.

Figure 3. Closed or open texts in interpretations. (Image: the Author)

Sallis (1986) holds the opinion that *The Name of the Rose* can be explored for interpretation on several levels. For example, descriptions of monastic and civic rivalry, the anxious history of the papacy in the 14th century, and lists of medieval herbs, beasts, and favourite books would fascinate a reader with an interest in any such subject. The strange murders, clues to the murderer's identity, and the narrator's observations would guide the skilful reader of the text in solving the mystery of the novel's plot. Eco's semiotic theory leads the reader to another level of reading in interpreting a text.

Returning to the interpretation of the rose motif, Hatt et al. (1999) suggest that, if readers follow Eco's medieval thought, the rose symbolizes heavenly perfection-earthly passion, time-eternity, and life-death. In medieval iconography, the rose is an emblem both of "the Passion of Christ" and the purity of Mary. A symbol of completion, the motif is frequently depicted as the mystical centre of the labyrinth.

Particularly, for an old monk on the threshold of his death, the rose is a nostalgic reminder of all the marvellous and dreadful events in which Adso took part in his youth. (1) It is his mentor and protector William of Baskerville, from whom he took his leave in Munich amid many tears. (2) It is the ephemeral delight of his encounter with a peasant maiden in the Aedificium kitchen. (3) It is the first glimpse of an Italian abbey upon his arrival in a beautiful morning at the end of November. (4) It is the damaged and scattered ruins of the Aedificium which he saw on his revisit of the abbey: the bookcases rotted by water and eaten by termites, the faded fragments of parchment, and the ghosts of books. (5) Eco's rose with many petals may signify the passing of the Middle Ages and the loss

of a whole system of symbols, signs, dogmas, and rites within which the spiritual life of the West had been safely enclosed. Whatever the rose may allude to, Eco is a supplier of open texts, leaving his readers to interpret and decide them in their own way.

6. Post-modern Interpretations of Allegorical Love

After his encounter with the peasant maiden at the kitchen in the course of the novel, adolescent Adso wonders about the difference between the flames of supernatural love and the raving of the senses. The saintly Franciscan Ubertino prohibits love with blurred distinctions:

> *What is love? There is nothing in the world... that I hold as suspect as love, for it penetrates the soul more than any other thing. Nothing exists that so fills and binds the heart as love does. Therefore, unless you have those weapons that subdue it, the soul plunges through love into an immense abyss... Mind you, I do not say these things to you only about evil love... I say this also, and with great fear, of the good love between God and man, between man and his neighbour... Because even the love felt by the soul, if it is not forearmed, if it is felt warmly, then falls, or proceeds in disorder. (NR 230-231).*

Scripture's allegorical portrayal of fervent love should figure in Adso's efforts to describe an experience in which divine and carnal loves appear as one to him, causing him to question the difference between the two. The biblical text of spiritual and erotic loves in the monastic spirituality is important to Adso's narrative and the novel's probing of medieval culture.
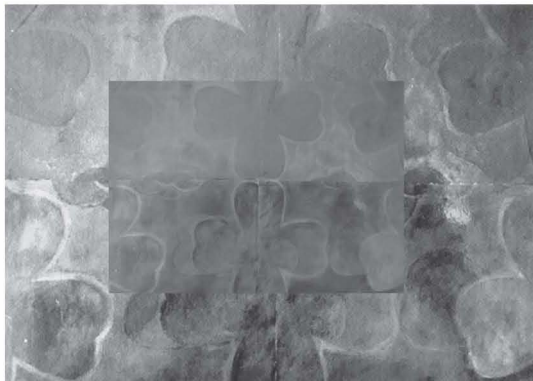

Figure 4. The carnal love transcends to the divine love in allegory. (Image: the Author)

When Adso borrows quotations from the Song of Solomon to record his passionate experience, he illustrates two primary features of high medieval monastic spirituality: its preoccupation with love, namely God's love for man and man's love for God. But when this sacramental comfort disappears, Adso finds himself facing the ambivalence of the peasant maiden who manifests to him as an occasional sin and the vessel of grace. He makes the effort of resolving this through the interpretive system privileged by monastic theology:

> *It was...as if-just as the whole universe is surely like a book written by the finger of God, in which everything speaks to us of the immense goodness of its Creator, in which every creature is description and mirror of life and death, in which the humblest rose becomes a gloss of our terrestrial progress-everything, in other words, spoke to me only of the face I had hardly glimpsed in the aromatic shadows of the kitchen. (NR 279)*

However, in his attempt at interpreting the peasant maiden as a metaphor of divinity, monastic analytics get worse to Adso's confusion over the similarity and difference. Simply, his experience in the kitchen contains the interpretive turmoil.
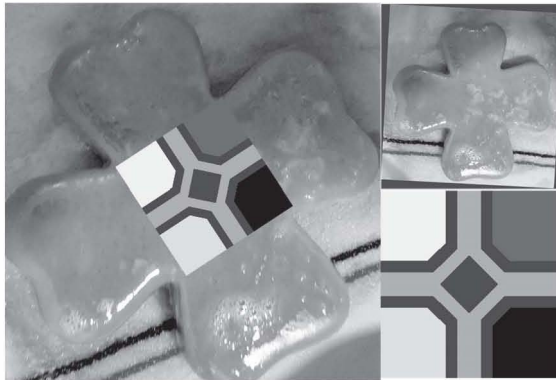

Figure 5. Rose: Intangible memories of faith-love like a melting soap. (Image: the Author).

7. Conclusion

Eco's *The Name of the Rose* is a historical fiction which deals with a mysterious murderer in Saint Michael's Abbey in northern Italy. Built between the late 10th and the early 11th centuries, this Romanesque abbey

is located along the pilgrimage route between Monte Sant'Angelo in southern Italy and Mont Saint-Michel in northern France.

Moreover, the novel's Aedificium was modelled on the historical Castel del Monte, built around 1240 in Apulia. However, Eco invented his building, placing the kitchen and the refectory on the ground floor; and the scriptorium and the library on the upper levels. Symbolically, the Aedificium layout implies a contrasted fight over human's spiritual and carnal desires. It has the purpose of demonstrating the young Adso of Melk's confusion regarding God's love. It also underlines the victory of eternal knowledge (library) over ephemeral pleasure (kitchen).

Particularly, the importance of the labyrinthine library as the space of medieval knowledge, rather than the murders, is highlighted at the end of the novel. The old Adso returned to the ruins of the burnt abbey, discovering some fragments of a parchment which the library preserved:

> When I found, in time, other copies of those books, I studied them with love, as if destiny had left me this bequest, as if having identified the destroyed copy were a clear sign from heaven that said to me: Tolle et lege [take and read]. At the end of my patient reconstruction, I had before me a kind of lesser library, a symbol of the greater, vanished one: a library made up of fragments, quotations, unfinished sentences, amputated stumps of books. The more I reread this list the more I am convinced it is the result of chance and contains no message.... And it is a hard thing for this old monk, on the threshold of death, not to know whether the letter he has written contains some hidden meaning, or more than one, or many, or none at all. (NR 500-501)

Earlier, it was mentioned that Eco's post-modern writing style leads to uncertainty, lacking meaning. And the text-image relationship was questioned: whether imaginary texts of a historical fiction should correspond to imaginary images. Therefore, if readers follow Eco's post-modernism, they are encouraged to find their own interpretations.

In this regard, a thought arises out of the functions of the Romanesque abbey-monastery cloister, because the primary voice of the Cistercian order, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, was doubtful about sculptures with mythical creatures in the Romanesque capitals. Attacking against the Cluniac order, he wrote in "Apologia" (1124) to Abbot William of St-Thierry.

> But in the cloister ... what profit is there in those ridiculous monsters, in the marvellous and deformed comeliness, that comely deformity? ... We are more tempted to read in the marble than in our books, and to spend the

whole day in wondering at these things rather than in meditating the law of God.

Historically, the Romanesque capitals had a didactic function of teaching Christianity for illiterate people, as well as strengthening God's love among literate monks. Ironically, the majority of the mythical animal sculptures in cloisters were borrowed from various medieval manuscripts in their abbey-monastery library. Even Eco's Aedificium has similar types of manuscripts. In other words, the library is not the only place for empowering-storing knowledge in human memories. At any rate, Eco's semiotic theory can contribute to readers' flexible interpretations of time and space, and his THE NAME OF THE ROSE has a significant intangible value.

When men stop believing in God, it isn't that they then believe in nothing: they believe in everything. (Umberto Eco)

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Visual Parallels of Textual Features in Perfume Advertising, i.e. Intertextuality and Graphology, Considering High- and Low-Context Cultures

Aneta Smolińska

Abstract

This research work is created at the interface of Sociology, Anthropology, Cultural Studies and Linguistics. It represents quantitative and qualitative studies based on culture specific advertising strategies in the light of the country-of-origin effect. In this context, it shows a five-country comparison of print advertisements launched by American, German, British, French and Italian fashion houses and companies, i.e. the analysis of a collection of 2,500 perfume advertisements (from 2005 to 2016, collected in 2017). Thus, the research shows five different culture profiles/models rooted in the theoretical framework of high- versus low-context cultures (Edward Hall, 1959; 1976; 1990; 1991). Additionally, it deals with two core phenomena of the advertisements, i.e. intertextuality and graphology. The results confirm that high-context cultures, such as Italy and France, depend on their cultural heritage (their traditional values and historical roots). Low-context values, however, are determined in the collections from the US and Germany, with just occasional casefor Great Britain. The conclusions point to the indication that even though perfume-advertising messages are considered as image-centred (i.e. of high-context type) they still show the values of the copywriters' cultures. Such outcomes manifest the clear existence of a cline within the category of high-context messages, namely a subcategory of low-context messages. This proves that there exists a cline within the category.

Key terms: advertising discourse, intertextuality, graphology, anthropolinguistics, sociolinguistics, high-context cultures, low-context cultures

1. Introduction

Nowadays, global campaigns to promote various products tend to be quite popular. Consequently, this particular research work hinges on culturally grounded aspects of fragrance advertisements that are published worldwide. As for scent promotion, it is quite common to find the same perfume advertisements in different countries. They are inclined to demonstrate the so-called 'soft-sell' approaches based on emotional images. Fragrance advertising appears to be 'image-centred' or/and 'image oriented'. It sells the mood, atmosphere, happiness, a dream.

In view of that, this research work aims to determine whether advertising messages, as worldwide promotional messages, are influenced by copywriters' cultures demonstrating the culture-of-origin effect (Kelly-Holmes, 2005). In this field, the research proposes two vital phenomena in the advertisements to be investigated, i.e. intertextuality and graphology in advertising messages in the range of high- and low-context cultures[1]. It deals with how graphology influences culture and cognition based on form and layout. The research field of graphology explores the diversity of forms in writing, i.e. different kinds of 'handwriting' and machine print. This analysis is, to the best of my knowledge, the first study of advertising copywriting that allows recognition of how people influence their communication acts both consciously and unconsciously. In this light, the cultural background inevitably has a strong impact on copywriters' choices and is associated with their cognition of the surrounding world.

Consequently, the research involves several steps to conduct a content-related examination to reveal such impacts. First and foremost, the theory part pays attention to the visual parallels of textual features in fragrance advertisements. Then, the issue of data collection and corpus creation for an examination of all the aforementioned issues is presented. The analysis of a collection of 2,500 perfume advertisements follows the presentation of outcomes, which demonstrate that perfume advertising is based on images, i.e. of high-context character. Additionally, the results of the studies are expected to show the existence of low-context values, which

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[1] This chapter forms part of a larger project on cross-cultural aspects of fragrance advertising. For an analysis of 'foreign languages and culture' see Smolińska 2017 a. Topics such as: 'text-image(s) relations', 'layout' and 'modality; are covered in Smolińska 2017 a and b.

would suggest the appearance of a subcategory within high-context advertisements.

In connecting intertextuality and graphology, the research attempts to deal with the problem of image interpretation in the world of perfume promotion, in which the occurrence of words is minimal. The content-related analysis uses a discourse-linguistic theoretical framework to recognise the existence of a cline within high-context advertising, which could identify low-context values (Smolińska, 2017a). As appropriately stated by Schiffrin et al,

> *Within discourse analysis and intercultural communication, cultural units have been dissolved into boundaryless forms of intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Culture has largely been demoted to the status of a minor discursive formation at best. That is, culture in the sense of "Chinese culture" or "European culture" might be used as one of a very wide range of discourses at play in any particular instance of discourse. At most, culture might be considered a kind of array or complex of other discursive formations (Schiffrin et al., 2001: 543).*

Therefore, such boundaryless forms of intertextuality and graphology are considered in the content-related analysis while discussing cultural values from high- and low-context cultures. They do not only reflect on particular models/profiles of culture, they also allow analysis of the visual components of graphology, which can be considered as text-like and/or images and investigates the role of intertextuality in different cultures.

2. Theoretical background: Culture differences

Culture and some cultural phenomena can be described and distinguished through some basic aspects of linguistically precise discourse analysis, including the role of context, intertextuality and graphology. Hall (1959: 105) introduces the idea of culture as communication and communication as culture. In this vein, Smolińska (2017a: 10) observes that culture should be perceived as a system that is created and shared by a particular group of people, such as a specific nation. In this sense, there may be a straightforward association link between a culture and a language in general terms. This means that cultural identity can be expressed through language (Deyrich, 2007: 1040). In this light, any language can be recognised as a vehicle for the expression of tensions within its culture. Moreover, 'language' should be perceived as including both verbal and visual aspects. Focusing on Stöckl (2001: 83), his concept identifies so-

called 'visual language' and/or 'visual lexicon' and/or 'pictorial utterances'.

The perspective of treating images as text has a long tradition (see e.g. Barthes [1964] 1967, Uspienski, 1995; see also an overview in Chrzanowska-Kluczewska, 2013). For the present study, of relevance is the work by De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 218f) and Stöckl (2001: 84) who provide the underpinnings for linguistic understanding of images. They claim that any sign configuration can be perceived as a text if it has a meaning. Consequently, textuality can be recognised in meaningful signs. Additionally, they claim that every sign must occur in a system that manages and standardizes its functions and meanings (1981: 218 f) (see also Smolińska 2017 b: 138). Knowing that pictures are able to perform and/or carry so-called 'sense', they should be perceived as potentially meaningful signs. Furthermore, consistent with Stöckl (2001: 85), pictures as texts created from signs can function as semiotic objects with meaning. Additionally, textuality in connection with meaningful signs represents the process of what a text produces and what the receivers of such a text can create as a result of it (Stöckl, 2001: 86-87). Such an understanding of this phenomenon corresponds to the concept of visual communication (more in Smolińska, 2017 a). In this sense, the concept of image also relates to 'visual language' recognised by Stöckl (2001), as well as the text-image relations described by Barthes (1964; 1972) and Peirce (1933-58; 1983) representing two major traditions connected with the study of signs.

2.1 High- and low-context cultures – general characteristics

A lack of balance and/or state of disequilibrium in the range of visual and verbal communication clues is emphasised by Edward Hall (1976). He distinguishes two kinds of cultures, namely high- and low-context ones. Specifically, cultures in which people react better to non-verbal more than to verbal communication are considered to be examples of high-context cultures. When people react more to verbal language (spoken or written) in their messages, then they are believed to be low-context cultures (also in Smolińska, 2017a: 12; 2017a: 128-131). In this light, Hall (1976) refers to his own anthropological categorization of cultures (Smolińska 2017a, b).

Additionally, Hall (1976: 79-80) indicates that people from high-context cultures are more inclined to react to information either hidden in a physical context or initialised in a person. In such a communication process, there is very little to be found in coded, explicit, transmitted messages. In this respect, people commonly rely on body language, signs and/or pictures. Hence, communication jogs the memory and focuses on

the act of revealing a secret, since interlocutors keep trying to discover information that is hidden and/or disguised, in a given context, in the message. In high-context cultures, the true meaning of a message is hard to convey, but it is possible when interlocutors know and understand the culture. In contrast, all the required information is provided for interlocutors in explicit codes in low-context cultures. Therefore, Hall (1990: 184) clarifies that in low-context cultures, the listener distinguishes very little and must be informed about basically everything, while in high-context cultures, the listener tends to be previously 'contextualized' and so does not require to be given much background information.

As a result, probability scales are demonstrated by Hall and Hall (1990) to classify different cultures in terms of the degree of context used.

All things considered, cultures in which people communicate more by non-verbal communication belong to the family of high-context cultures. According to Hall (1976: 79) in these culture zones, people use body language, signs and pictures rather than words. For this reason, it is essential to be aware of cultural values in order to be able to convey a message in a high-context culture. In contrast, cultures where verbal language (spoken or written) dominates are characterised as low-context ones. Hall (1990: 184) highlights that low-context communication acts are based on practically all the required information being provided to the listener by the speaker.

2.2. Intertextuality

As Myers claims, in advertisements, apart from "made up patterns of textual choices", there are "linguistic features in one text that are interpreted in relation to those in other texts" (1994: 5-6). With this intention, such linguistic features are called intertextuality. Exploring his examples further, he states that it is part of the effect of advertisements in relation to cultural artefacts. Interestingly, Myers (1994: 4) suggests that language in advertisement occurs to us as used. Based on that, he underlines the significance of intertextuality, namely "the way one text draws on and responds to others" (2010: 8). In this context, Myers claims that "intertextuality is not some secret code to be guessed at by aficionados" (2010: 8). This is also true while considering intercultural references. The receiver of the message found in an advertisement should have knowledge of the sender of such a message. This could mitigate against the creation of international campaigns, otherwise promotional communication may have to be established on universal values known in different cultures.

Meanwhile, Goddard (2005: 69) expresses that intertextuality makes reference to the way one text can point to or base itself on another. She also stresses that such a phenomenon can be an important component of the meaning of advertisements; however, the reader must remember the original text in order to truly understand the message. As for Stöckl (2001: 95), the concept of intertextuality should be recognised in the sense built on in Malmkjær, i.e. "the way in which the use of certain text depends on knowledge of other texts" (1991: 469).

Based on Malmkjær's concept, Stöckl, (2001) provides a definition of intertextuality by giving two explanations. Furthermore, to clarify his justifications, he also distinguishes two types/models of intertextuality in the sphere of pictures understood as texts. The first type refers to the reliance of a given text on one or more other texts, which have previously been come across. That is because it takes for granted the world knowledge about certain affairs not involved in it, but rather received from other texts. Stöckl (2001) suggests that the text producer leaves gaps for the reader to fill in due to the fact that this particular text is a part of a whole chain of interconnected texts. The given text contains clues that lead to information from outside the original text. Therefore, to make sense of a text the receiver must make an investment in another text. Such intertextuality referring to world knowledge picked up through dependent texts can be regarded as legally acceptable for pictures. The second interpretation of intertextuality is enacted with respect to texts in which meaning is fully regained via recourse to knowledge about text genres and their characteristic features and patterns. In this case, a given text relies on others due to the fact that it belongs to a certain text type and fulfils prototypical functions of that specific genre. Such an interpretation also refers quite well to pictures as they contain formal and stylistic aspects, etc. This allows one to consider the fact that intertextuality is a common phenomenon in advertising messages, as stated by Cook (2001: 220), namely, it is one of the common practices.

Yet, Daniel Chandler (2004: 200) is of the opinion that much effort and trouble are required to discover intertextuality in advertisements. He claims that in visual advertisements nowadays, there is no direct reference to the advertised product. Bãdulesvu, on the other hand, considers the fact that

> *Intertextuality is a much broader term than influence (the direct effect, conscious or unconscious, of one author on another). Intertextuality is the general condition by which it is possible for a text to be a text: the whole network of relations, conventions, and expectations by which the text is defined* (Bãdulesvu, 2005: 144).

Exploring material from lectures on Language Issues in Advertising and Marketing, different kinds of intertextuality identified by Andrew Wilson (2004) can be distinguished, namely:

- the use of words or signs from one text in another
- the employment of quotation and allusion
- 'interdiscursivity' – the use of conventions from one genre or discourse in another
- a phenomenon often associated with post-modem pastiche – ironic imitation
- 'bricolage' – the idea of putting together already existing elements into a new assemblage.

For Wilson (2004), intertextuality, in the world of advertisements, should be examined by giving careful consideration to:

- ads drawing on other registers (varieties of language): science, sports, politics, religion, literature;
- ads drawing on other genres: game shows, soap operas, speeches;
- other genres drawing on promotional genres: university prospectus, party political broadcasts, government.

Wilson (2004) also suggests that while searching for intertextuality, the register, collocations, characteristic syntax, imagery and visual style, as well as typeface and layout, must be investigated.

Meanwhile Myers (2004), considering various cases of intertextuality, also associates it with general conditions. So, the concept of intertextuality is connected to the issues of, inter alia, interdiscursivity, bricolage and/or post-modern pastiche. Building on Fairclough (1992), he (2004) makes a differentiation between intertextuality and interdiscursivity. In view of Fairclough's concept, Myers underlines that manifest intertextuality could be interpreted as echoing specific texts when it is regarded in terms of the inclusion of elements from one text in another. Consequently, by interdiscursivity, he identifies the phenomenon with the inclusion of language from one discourse type in another, specifically mixing different genres, styles etc. In other words, such intertextuality can be recognised as echoing discourses, with an utterance in one discourse adopting the form or style of another (e.g. politicians using religious language or adverts involving a political or scientific way of sending information).

Given that intertextuality is an important issue in advertising discourse, the employment of pastiche seems to be relevant for the research. As for

this particular issue, it deals with the imitation of works of art and combines themes and styles from many different sources. It is made up of echoes of other pieces of work. It can be also understood as caricature, or parody, especially in the case of post-modem pastiche. According to Hoesterey (2001: 12), pastiche can be perceived as a hodgepodge, a confused mixture, etc. Therefore, such a phenomenon may exist in advertising messages of all kinds.

2.2.1. Intertextuality in high- and low-context cultures

Given that cultures differ according to the cultural context, it is essential to discover the tendencies that high- and low-context cultures rely on research studies on extreme cultural types show that, for example, English (low-context) advertising messages share some intertextual features, while Chinese (high-context) ones demonstrate more of them (Zhu, 2005: 106). This suggests that as far as advertising campaigns are concerned, high-context cultures are characterised by overlapping genres, i.e. genre-mixing, which serves as a platform for the likelihood of intertextuality (Zhu, 2005: 104).

Moreover, to understand the use of intertextuality in high-context communities, it is vital to acknowledge the powerful impact of a wide range of intertextual connections (Katsuno and Yano, 2002), which are allowed due to their characteristics. High-context communicative acts can be based on past references, relatively more ambiguous, indirect and rooted in the broad context. As for intertextual connections, one can perceive all kinds of aesthetics, e.g. in traditional writing systems in Asian countries representing a typical high-context culture (Katsuno & Yano, 2002). In contrast, communication acts from low-context cultures tend to be more explicit and demonstrate the value of a single word, which is unimportant, unless symbolic, in high-context cultures (Hall & Hall, 1990). In this respect, intertextual connections are less relevant in promotional messages.

Yet another aspect comes into view. High-context cultures are anchored in what is known or traditional; therefore, they should be more inclined to refer to intertextuality. As stated by Shazali (2011: 66), building on De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981:10), intertextuality is responsible for the evolution of text types, namely, as classes with typical patterns of characteristics. In this sense, intertextuality cannot exist without being reliant on another text or utterance. Moreover, it takes account of four issues, i.e. text type, text allusion, conversation and the making of reports and summaries of texts. Knowing that the concept of

intertextuality illustrates how the creation and reception of a given text relies on the participant's knowledge of other texts, it seems natural to connect the phenomenon of intertextuality to high-context cultures. It is also due to the fact that such cultures are described as interdependent and 'being cultures', thus rooted in experience and acquired knowledge.

Given that low-context cultures (doing cultures) "think of the individual self as the starting point or the final arbiter in their societies" (Varner & Beamer, 2005:114), it seems more obvious to refer to intertextuality in a more limited way. But is this actually correct? We should consider the power of images used in smartphones which are also very popular among members of low-context cultures. To the best of my knowledge, no studies have analysed the intertextuality associated with low- and high-context associations.

2.3. Graphology

The most obvious and self-evident graphical features of any textual work include typefaces, page size, headers, footers, and column width. Unfortunately, such features tend to be ignored unless they interfere with the pattern of reading or when they draw attention to themselves (Ducker, 2009: 26).

Based on my research conducted on a range of advertising discourse samples, the appearance of text in advertisements seems to be crucial not only as a text per se, but also as an image. In this light, perfume advertising messages are characterized by the rare presence of text in the range of slogans, products and brand names. Obviously, there are cases in which the occurrence of one or two words in advertisements can be found, However, such advertising messages are very uncommon. So, the concept of graphology tends to create one of a number of possibilities for examining cultural features in advertising discourse. To clarify this idea, writing as a functional system should be considered. Philip A. Luelsdorff, building on Vachek (1989), claims that a text itself is of great importance. It provides clues for identifying and analysing language. As he (1989: Xii) notes:

> Vachek convincingly shows that at least some of the redundant features observable in written languages, such as capitalization and spacing between words ("graphemic zeros") have functional significance within the given linguistic system and that their presence hence conforms with the basic task of written utterances (Luelsdorff, 1989: Xii).

Discussing the issue of written language, the distinction between written and printed texts should be conceded to the validity of Vachek (1989: 9), who stresses that the differences between written and printed languages are not restricted to the technical means with whose help graphic signs are created. He underlines that deeper linguistic devices are involved there.

In this context, it is also obvious that the written word should be seen as a set of linguistic signs. Naturally, the graphic form of a word is nothing but the way a text is presented; however, such forms are a part of a message and might play a crucial role in interpreting its content. In the case of advertisements, graphic forms can support, complete or add extra information etc. Therefore, graphology influences the process of communication, especially the promotional type.

Vachek (1989: 45) claims that various typefaces carry their own meaning, e.g. italic symbols refer to the emphatic and/or emotional qualities of a word or group of words and are considered as marked[2]. Such a style of writing stands out from the text and catches the reader's attention as an important or distinctive feature. Yet, the same effect can be reached via the employment of quotation marks. Lynne Truss (2003: 146), meanwhile, presents four ways of using italics dating from the 15th century:

- titles of books, newspapers etc.
- emphasis on certain words
- foreign words and phrases
- examples whilst writing about language.

As can be observed, the employment of italics has not changed very much. A similar distinction can be found in Vachek, who emphasizes (1989: 46) the use of italics in the case of a change in literary genre, e.g. in a publication and so forth. He also stresses (1989:47) that while dealing with handwriting, the effect created by italics can be achieved by the use of underlining, even though such a case does not refer to characterizing a specific literary genre.

Meanwhile, Vachek (1989: 48) demonstrates the occurrence of two specific sets of marked graphemes, i.e. bold type and small capitals. Bold type, despite its emphatic and emotional function, just like italics and small capitals, serves mainly for headings and captions briefly

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[2] On cognitive concepts of a language and connotative value of different types of script see Haładewicz-Grzelak and Luboś-Kozieł (2013).

summarizing what is in the chapter(s). They are believed to be unaesthetic as they destroy the 'balance' of the whole page. Small capitals, though, can be used similarly to bold type; however, they are widely represented in theatrical plays to identify the person speaking etc. Both small capitals and bold type provide visible evidence of the author's effort to present the viewer with a clear demonstration of the message.

As might be expected, there are also other typefaces, which carry all sorts of messages, for example:

– a phenomenon often associated with post-modern pastiche – ironic imitation,
– bricolage – the idea of putting together already existing elements into a new assemblage,
– **Bradley hand ITC can express a casual, friendly and relaxed style of writing. The fact that it looks like handwriting makes us believe that the information that is carried seems to be more personal;**
– Lucida Calligraphy can suggest the personal, but neat character of a person who shows more concern for the reader;
- *Gill Sans MT might indicate functionality, clarity, distinctness or legibility.*

Naturally, there are other typefaces that imitate different styles of writing and are used in order to make reference to specific qualities or ideas, e.g.:

– Broadway – associated with a famous place for entertainment,
– *Baskerville – created by John Baskerville in late eighteenth-century England,*
– Century Gothic – which could be connected to the style of gothic.

In this regard, Goddard (1998: 16) paints a picture that handwriting is recorded as associated with human agency, which means that it is more personal and more individualistic than a typical printed version. She focuses on the fact that machines can create diverse kinds of personalised-looking kinds of handwriting. For this reason, varieties of handwriting can suggest different authors, e.g. a style with rounded, joined-up scripts with dots in the shape of hearts could connote a young writer, and so forth. Consequently, all the aforementioned distinctive features that appear in the advertising message not only present its contents, but also hidden in its graphology could be sources of cultural knowledge waiting to be revealed by its readers (receivers).

2.3.1. Graphology in high- and low-context cultures

To analyse the cultural differentiations in the sphere of graphology revealed in advertising discourse, one must rely on research carried out providing facts not assumptions. So far, researchers have not found it worthwhile to gain much knowledge on this particular issue in the range of high- and low-context cultures. Fortunately, some attempts have been made to refer to the subject of graphology for specific national cultures; therefore, a short review of theoretical analyses can be conducted.

Knowing that France is considered to be a fairly high-context culture and England is of a rather low-context kind (Smolińska, 2017a: 12-13), it is vital to find out their preferences in the sphere of graphology. In this sense, the outcomes of Alan Cowling and Chloe Mailer's research (2011: 234) appear to be valuable, since they analysed some aspects of graphology in France and the UK. According to their research, in the field of business France places great reliance on handwriting, e.g. hand-written application letters, which can be analysed by a graphologist, play a significant role. In contrast, graphology is given scant regard because of its poor validity by most UK businesses. It is also acknowledged that many French companies use graphology – handwriting analysis – to assist in making personnel decisions. For this reason, it can be stated that the personal touch given by the representation of handwritten texts is crucial in high-context cultures, whereas low-context cultures do not look for personal features in messages.

More precise references to culture types in the sphere of graphology are made by Matthew McCool (2007). In his research, high-context-cultures are especially concerned about appearance, which means that functionality is not always important. Importantly, he (2007: 13-14) demonstrates the meaning of fonts in low- and high-context messages, e.g. serif fonts often convey a feeling of formality and authority – mitigating uncertainty. He also states that some fonts, e.g. rich serif font, are untypical among low-context users due to their formality. In the same sense, scripts are believed to demonstrate passion, which seem to be perfect for high-context users, as are calligraphic (Alexa, Ophelia Italic, Saltino), casual, black letter and formal scripts. To express a sense of authority, emotions, credibility etc., formal scripts are used by members of high-context cultures (2007:15).

Such indications allow one to justify that, in high-context-cultures, people are more likely to use a variety of fonts imitating handwriting as well as expressing feelings and emotions (usually decorative ones), while

members of a low-context culture rely more on the functionality of fonts since they use language more for passing on information.

3. Methodology of the investigation

My research corpus was derived from a large collection presented by *'Le site Images de Parfums'*. This website was created in 1980 for commercial and advertising purposes[3]. To make the investigation even more suitable for these particular research studies, I also applied another collection, namely *'Ma collection de Publicités de Parfum'* to create similar groups of advertisements considering this time the country of their sender (origin of the fragrance). In this regard, my corpus of fragrance advertisements consists of advertisements downloaded from these particular websites. The entire corpus consists of 2,500 perfume advertisements from 2005 to 2017. I managed to assemble a corpus of print advertisements launched by American,[4] German,[5] British,[6] French[7] and Italian[8] fashion houses and companies. I made allowances for what could appear in the world of advertising messages, considering the countries of their senders.

The corpora were analysed with a quantitative methodology in all the investigated fields. The analyses of the discourses and their interpretation used data associated with high- and low-context cultures. The interpretation took into account the factors identifying cultures according to Hall's framework. The data were juxtaposed and compared to bring out their differences and similarities for discussion. The interpretation of the data showed the characteristic phenomena of specific cultures. I present the cultural points of view demonstrated in perfume advertising by analysing basic information concerning:

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[3] It has been regularly updated.
[4] E.g. Calvin Klein, DKNY, Perry Ellis, Carolina Herrera, Tommy Hilfiger, Ralph Lauren, Oscar de la Renta.
[5] E.g. Adidas, Bruno Banani, Hugo Boss, Esprit, Escada, Wolfgang Joop, Karl Lagerfeld, Marc O'Polo, Puma.
[6] E.g., Burberry, Alfred Dunhill, Alexander McQueen, Stella McCartney, Paul Smith, Vivienne Westwood.
[7] E.g. Chanel, Pierre Cardin, Chloé, Dior, Jean-Paul Gaultier, Givenchy, Hermès, Yves Saint Laurent, Lanvin, Rochas.
[8] E.g. Armani, Laura Biagotti, Roberto Cavalli, Capucci, Dolce & Gabbana, Etro, Fendi, Gucci, Prada, Versace Trussardi.

1) general analysis, which can provide basic information in the field of promoting fragrance products, such as the use of words;
2) cases revealing intertextuality in promoting perfumes;
3) the use of graphology in advertising messages;
4) the typefaces used in fragrance advertising;
5) cases discovered of intertextuality in terms of graphology.

4. General analysis covering the corpus of 2,500 advertising messages

The general analysis deals with three main aspects of scent advertising that can be noticed when studying the methods used by copywriters. Namely, they create advertisements:

– with just the name of a perfume product;
– just one word to describe a fragrance;
– some words connected with the scent.

This part of the research is based on previous research work done in 2005 (only considering data from '*Le site Images de Parfums*'), which has been extended (by new advertisements from '*Ma collection de Publicités de Parfum*'). Consequently, it has been improved as the number of advertisements in the collection has increased. It includes data from two big web collections of advertisements, which were later divided into five smaller corpora based on country of origin. The advertisements gathered come from the period 2004-2016.
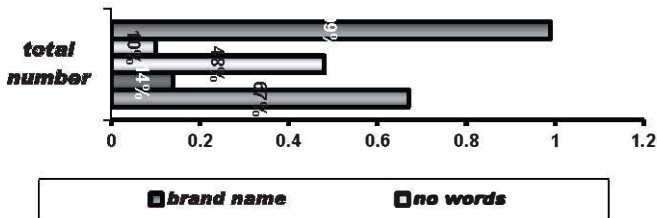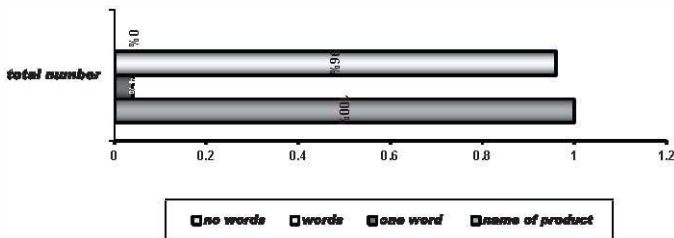

Graph 1. Use of word in advertisements

The graphical record above (Graph 1) illustrates the relations between words and images in advertising for perfume products. It states that fragrances are introduced mainly by showing images. The copywriters,

believing that the name of the brand is necessary to attract the viewer's attention, opted principally for placing the name somewhere in the frame of the advertisements. In this context, only 28 per cent of the advertisements apply wording just in the form of the brand name and nothing else. That means that 39 per cent of all advertising messages contain other kinds of written utterances together with the product name, one extra word or a text message.

It is not without significance that the employment of words in advertising messages affecting perfume products is also popular. Interestingly, there are also cases where, except for the brand name, just one word is introduced to the advertisement. Yet, such examples are not prominent.

As far as a more thorough analysis is concerned, i.e. according to the country of origin, the investigation includes further details. Due to the division into the country of origin, five groups of advertisements (500 each) were created: American, German, British, French and Italian corpora. They were each analysed by 10 native speakers from the same country, i.e. 500 advertisements from the US were analysed by 10 Americans, 500 advertisements from Germany were analysed by 10 Germans, and so on. This was to pinpoint the main characteristic features for each country.

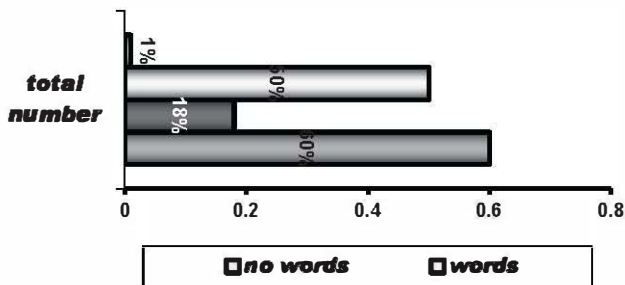Graph 2. Use of words in advertisements from the US

As shown in Graph 2, the outcomes of the analysis of the American corpus indicate the greatest quantities of written text (mainly in the form of slogans or other information) with a rather insignificant appearance of singular cases that allow one to see just one word in an advertising message. These data indicate that perfume and fragrance promotional communication acts in the low-context cultural zone are based mainly on words supported by images. Such a situation tends to demonstrate typically low-context values allowing as many words written within the advertising frame as possible. Importantly, the name of the product is

always present in advertisements to confirm the fact that all the necessary information is there for the potential buyer – the receiver of the message. This also means that the sender of the message makes sure that appropriate knowledge is acquired through communication acts and nothing is missed. This kind of interaction is typical of a low-context culture.
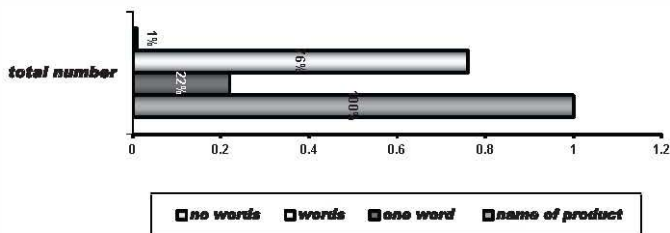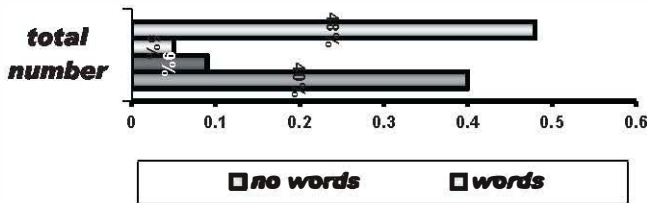

Graph 3. Use of words in advertisements from Germany

While dealing with the German corpus, shown in Graph 3, one can observe the tendency of employing words for communication reasons to a rather high degree. The percentage with words used, 76 per cent, seems very high, which could refer to low-context characteristics. Not surprisingly, all of the advertisements employ the name of the product to make sure that what is promoted is obvious, highlighting at the same time low-context associations. The cases in which there were only four advertisements with no words (i.e. 0.8%) and six advertisements (i.e. 1.2%) with only a product name tend to show a rather low influence of image-based advertising messages. Such messages are typical of fragrance promotions referring to the high-context values and appealing to emotions and senses. The exceptions to the rule seem to prove the rather low-context character of the corpus gathered from Germany, as could be expected.
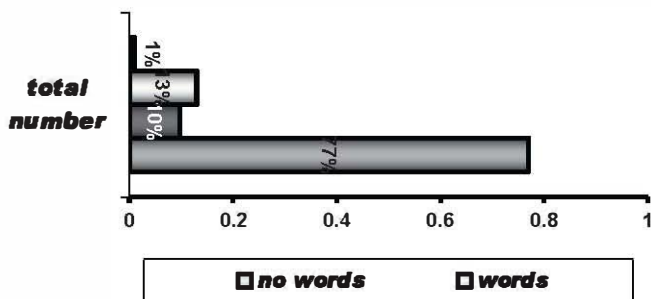

Graph 4. Use of words in advertisements from Britain

British culture is usually considered a low-context one. All the same, the outcomes of the investigation show (Graph 4) the great impact of high-context fragrance advertising on what is launched in the UK. Obviously, the use of words is significant as it reaches 50 per cent, which constitutes half of the whole British data. Thirteen per cent of the advertisements with just one word used may slightly favour high-context associations. However, since they go together with the product name also mentioned within the advertising frame, it refers to a clear identification of the product – typical of low-context cultures. The number of advertisements with just the name of the product, namely 157 cases, constitutes 31.4 per cent of the gathered data, which appears to be rather unexpected for a low-context country. Such unexpected results are also emphasised by two examples of advertisements with no words (0.6%). It can be anticipated that these promotional messages are under the influence of high-context fragrance advertising, which is dominant in global flows.

Graph 5. Use of words in advertisements from France.

As for the French corpus, there are straightforward references to high-context values. Graph 5 clearly demonstrates that there are 239 advertisements with no words in them (i.e. 47.8%), which constitutes almost half of the corpus, and nearly 40 per cent with just the product name. The appearance of one word within the advertising message, i.e. 43 examples (8.6%), seems to highlight the emotional characteristics of the product – which can be regarded as typical of high-context cultures. Five per cent of the whole corpus of advertisements that come into view with a written text can be associated with the idea of introducing ambiguity through the text, namely creating a mysterious atmosphere for the product – typical of high-context connections.

Graph 6. Use of words in advertisements from Italy

Interestingly, the Italian corpus (Graph 6) shows as many as 388 examples of advertisements with the product name (i.e. 76.6%). This gives the impression of introducing a wide variety of different products within the same brand. The outcomes also demonstrate quite a high percentage of appearances of one-word employment, namely 9.4 per cent (47 examples), which could be perceived as characteristic of high-context values. Surprising as it may seem for a high-context culture, the occurrence of verbal text seems to be rather high, i.e. almost 13 per cent. Also untypical of high-context associations is the low percentage of advertising messages without words, just five cases (1%). On the whole, however, after analysing the contents of the advertisements from Italy, it seems obvious that they might be addressed to low-context readers. Yet, apart from some low-context connections, there are many high-context associations that outnumber the low-context values observed there.

According to the culture division in the range of low and high context, the general analysis referring to the use of words confirms the claims introduced by Hall's anthropological theory. As far as the main characteristics are concerned, the US tends to be the lowest in context values, demonstrating the greatest amount of written wording that appears in the sphere of slogans and/or different information about the product together with providing its name. It proves that such messages are based on words and sustained or maintained by visual images, typical of low-context cultures. The situation appears rather similar when investigating the German collections of advertisements, with a great tendency to employ words together with the name of the product. In this sense, text-based advertising messages clearly underline low-context connections.

British culture in advertising discourse tends to be rather moderate, appearing somewhere between low-context and high-context associations. Yet, the results clearly show an enormous impact of high-context attachments

in the range of fragrance advertising. This is demonstrated by the unanticipated low numbers of advertisements using words, which only reaches 50 per cent. Surprisingly, the other half of the advertising messages is rather image-based, suggesting the favouring of high-context associations.

The collections of French and Italian advertisements demonstrate references that are rather free from ambiguity. They are related to high-context values. In both cases, there is quite a high percentage of advertisements without words, higher in the case of Italian culture. The use of product names seems to be rather low, lower in the case of France and higher in the case of Italy but, nevertheless, still within the range associated with high-context associations. Significantly, the appearance of one word tends to highlight the emotional characteristics of the product, and thus is typical of high-context cultures. It is true that in advertising messages there are some low-context connections; nevertheless, there are far more high-context associations that outnumber the low-context values to a very great extent.

In this sense, it can be claimed that perfume is classified as a product that does not need any special promotional campaign. The brand's name seems to be the best way of advertising due to the fact that, primarily, the name itself is well known among the public, since it may also be related to famous fashion designers, e.g. Pierre Cardin, Coco Chanel, Giorgio Armani, Laura Ashley etc. Given that, a more detailed analysis is needed to gain more information in the area of cultural influence on advertising discourse.

4.1 Revealed cases of intertextuality in promoting perfume

"Spotting intertextual moments in contemporary advertising is a little too much like looking for hay in a haystack."
(MacRury, 1997: 242)
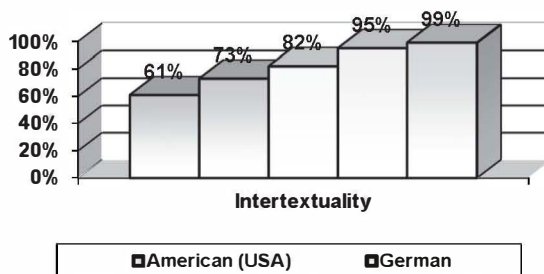
Graph 7. Revealed cases of intertextuality in the data investigated for particular countries.

This investigation, based on finding intertextual connections in advertising messages, is very challenging to handle, since it depends on the general knowledge of the receiver of the message. In this sense, it would be extremely useful to find out how many cases of intertextuality can be observed by native speakers from particular countries. For this reason, I asked fifty (10 representing each culture) well-educated people to spot any cases of intertextuality in all the gathered corpora. Such an attempt allowed the greatest possibility of acknowledging the most obvious ones. I also took into consideration the fact that advertising messages are dedicated to all kinds of buyers, regardless of their education level. Thus, the possibility of recognising all cases of intertextuality in the gathered data was even greater.

The analysis of the number of acknowledged cases of intertextuality is presented in Graph 7. It shows that high-context cultures, such as Italian and French, use a lot of intertextual connections. This means that the native speakers of Italian could recognise intertextual associations in almost all of the advertisements from Italy (99%). The French also spotted a very significant number of intertextual correlations, namely in 95 per cent of all of the advertising messages.

As far as Americans and Germans are concerned, i.e. representatives of low-context cultures, their ability to discover intertextual associations was considerably lower. This could suggest that advertising communication acts from the US and Germany include far fewer cases of this phenomenon. The results show that in 61 per cent of cases intertextual associations were spotted in the American advertisements and 73 per cent in the German ones. That supports the idea that fragrance advertising discourse, which is mainly image-based, demonstrates characteristics typical of a high-context communication style initiating intertextual references. That also suggests that even advertising messages launched in the US or Germany are under great influence of the global market in the range of perfume advertising discourse and introduce high-context values. A surprisingly high number of intertextual associations was recognised by the British people in the British corpus of fragrance advertisements, i.e. in 82 per cent of the adverts. In this light, British culture seems to show a tendency to follow high-context values, which are represented by many occurrences of intertextuality.

For this reason, I decided to examine more closely just two types of intertextuality. In this context, I divided intertextuality into two categories. The first kind dealt with intertextuality in graphology, while the other referred to different kinds associated with characteristic references to various disciplines and spheres of life.

The results of the research studies clearly demonstrate different kinds of intertextuality found in fragrance advertising discourse. Such kinds involve intertextual correlations in the range of graphology referring to the field of layout and sign representations, as well as the diversity of thematic forms of presentation and subject matter. The most striking, although not significant in number, are the cases in which one can observe connections to artistic creations, such as paintings, drawings or cartoons (Graph 8).
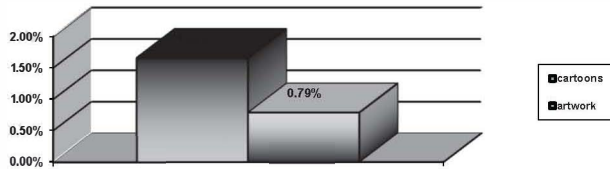
Graph 8. Representation of cartoons and artistic creations in the data gathered

The use of cartoons is not necessarily associated with advertisements addressed toward children. They work quite well with adults, since they can refer to values associated with children and motherhood, as probably appears in the case of an Italian fragrance for women **FIORUCCI**: *Happy hour*. Advertising messages in the form of cartoons may allow the receiver to be transported to a different world, making them relax, as if they were reading a book. Such cases were mainly demonstrated by the American advertisements, e.g. **Calvin KLEIN**: *CK One 21*.

The outcomes show that references to art appear to be typical of high-context cultures. They occur in various forms indicating products of human creativity and/or works of art that represent so-called high culture, thus a sophisticated style. Such creations mainly appear in high-context cultures, such as Italy or France. The copywriters seem to rely on the influence of drawings, as in the advertisement for *Bel Ami* from **HERMÉS**, or paintings as demonstrated in *Loulou Blue* from **CACHAREL**, not to mention the use of sculptures as in *Fendi* by **FENDI**. References to the world of high culture are predominantly seen in the corpora from Italy and France.

A significant number also appears in the British collection. Yet, such cases could also be spotted in the American (**Donna KARAN**: *DKMen*) and German corpora; however, they come into view only rarely, showing obvious associations with the more sophisticated world of fragrances and their promotion.

According to the general characteristics, all kinds of decorations should be found in high-context cultures. Surprisingly, they were also discovered in low-context ones. In the low-context advertising discourse, such decorations usually refer to the phenomenon of *graffiti*. The appearance of *graffiti*, which could be inscribed on rocks or walls in the form of writing and/or drawing, tends to be quite popular among advertising messages. Such more or less elaborate decorations, which could be full of ambiguity, are marked by complexity and richness of details. This phenomenon can be observed in the *CK Shock* advertisement from **Calvin Klein**, *New West* from **Aramis** and *I love Dior* from **Christian DIOR**.

The revealed cases of intertextuality in the advertising discourse also allow one to associate the culture of the sender with high-context values, such as connections to tradition or simply references to the past. Therefore, different time periods can be discovered, especially in corpora from high-context countries. They illustrate time periods, epochs etc., e.g. ancient Greece, Rome.

In the collections of advertisements from France, Italy and Britain, there are intertextual connections to different genres, such as science fiction, film and literature galore. Needless to say, religion has intertextual connections, predominantly in high-context cultures. To be more precise, they consider some aspects found in the Bible and some beliefs associated with it. They refer to, e.g.:

- Matthew 14: 22-23 (Jesus Walks on the Water) in *Dior Coloressence* from **Christian DIOR**;
- Genesis 2: 4 – 3: 24 (The story of Adam and Eve and the tempting snake) *Inspiration* from **Charles JOURDAN**;
- 1 Kings 8: 27, John 6: 38 referring to an image of angels in *Dream Angels* from **Victoria Secrets**;
- Revelation 21:8 or Proverbs 15:24 in the picture of hell observed in *Diesel zero plus* by **DIESEL**.

Such indications could be understood as references to the past, tradition and religious customs cultivated even by non-believers, in which high-context cultures are deeply rooted. The bible itself could be an example of references to just a piece of literature, since its stories, psalms and proverbs have seeped into people's everyday lives, especially in so-called Western cultures. In this sense, the appearance of such associations in low-context cultures seem to be justified. In the corpora, such references, however, are shown in a more ironic way. The cases based on

Biblical events, characters etc. can be illustrated by advertising messages from, e.g., **Bruno BANANI**, namely, *About Men* (devil) or *Scent from Heaven* (saint). They are of a more symbolic nature since they simply refer to the human characteristics of being bad or good, tempting, supernatural or out of this world and are used to describe the effect that is supposed to be observed when wearing these fragrances.

Last but not least, a noteworthy reference to literature appears in a spectacular way, namely, the memorable words expressed by Shakespeare in Hamlet: *"To be or not to be"* are adapted (**Calvin KLEIN**: *ckbe*). With an association to this phrase, very similar expressions appear in other advertisements referring to fragrances from the same brand, i.e. *"be hot. be cool. just be."* (*CKBe*), *"be good. be bad just be."* (*ckbe*), *"just be."* (*ckbe*), *"be shy. be bold. just be."* (*ckbe*). This quote is one of the most widely known in the world's literature, since this masterpiece is an essential in teaching literature in every school. Thus, using this line appears to be one of the best ways to foreground an ambiguous message through the use of very familiar words.

Yet another interesting communicational mechanism is revealed while considering the phenomenon of intertextuality in perfume advertisements. It is observed, e.g., in the slogan *"May the sea be with you"* (**NAUTILUS**: *Aqua*), which can refer to two separate sources. The first one, and probably the most common among fans of the film 'Star Wars', could associate it with the saying: *"May the force be with you!"* Christians, though, who are used to religious customs would most certainly recognize the words of the blessing: *"May God be with you."* Such ambiguity and allowances in the range of interpretation suggests possible associations with both low- and high-context cultures.

A very similar situation happens in the case of **DKNY**, whose advertising messages refer to the fragrances called *Red Delicious* or *Be Delicious*. These fragrances are sold in bottles designed as red or green apples. Additionally, there are also other images of apples within the advertising frame. The apples can be understood as the indexes of attractiveness in the Peirce sense (1931-58). However, it can also be noted that an apple is symbolic of the forbidden fruit. In this context, it is an example of intertextuality associated with Biblical characters, namely, Adam and Eve presented in the contemporary world (also in Smolińska 2017a: 193). On the other hand, the 'Big Apple' also indexes New York, whose name can also be discovered foregrounded in the advertisement frame, in some cases by photos from this city. With respect to that the use of 'Big Apple' creates intertextuality, which can also be acknowledged by non-believers.

It must be stated, though, that such intertextual connections are more popular among high-context cultures. There are a lot of examples in their collections of advertisements. The most interesting ones (full of ambiguity), derived from everyday situations and/or referring to supernatural powers, are as follows:

- the main character of the book by Jules Gabriel Verne, and/or volcano (●nekotan Island), referring to an exploratory life full of unexpected, unusual events as the symbol demonstrated there is Y, meaning 'looking within', 'spiritual illumination', a point in life where we have to make a vital decision. Moreover, consistent with Pythagoras, it represents the paths of virtue and vice (**CACHAREL:** *NEM●*);
- promised land, a beautiful garden where Adam and Eve were placed at the Creation; when they disobeyed and ate the forbidden fruit from the tree of knowledge of good and evil they were driven from Paradise (the fall of man) (**CACHAREL**: *Eden*);
- a performance at the theatre showing a horse jumping out of the stage straight at the audience. The horse is ridden by a properly dressed jockey. They seem to be actors in the play (**GUERLAIN**: *Habit Rouge*);
- a game of chess (**GIVENCHY:** *YSATIS*), a game played with playing cards, i.e. one card from a pack of cards (**FIORUCCI**: *Fiorucci loves you*);
- a CCTV recording (**GIVENCHY:** *●blique*);
- a symbol of currency (**Christian DIOR**: *Miss Dior*), the symbol π, which is an intriguing number for scientists with lots of mysteries (**GIVENCHY:** π);
- customs or traditions, e.g. Christmas (**ROGER & GALLET:** *R&GE*);
- references to nationalities (**Perry ELLIS:** *America;* **Tommy HILFIGER:** *Freedom;* **ROGER & GALLET:** *R&GE*),
- the stylisation of Marilyn Monroe (**Christian DIOR:** *Jadore*).

The use of various similarities to the general state of things, reminding us of everyday situations, brings forward the idea of the natural need for a product. Therefore, the employment of intertextuality helps to involve, if not persuade, the 'hearer' in the process of communication.

Intertextuality in general gives authority to some vital and meaningful aspects that appear in perfume advertisements. It relies on the knowledge of the audience or their imaginative skills. Moreover, this phenomenon

plays a very crucial role as it usually connects two things or ideas that would not go together, as in the case of different races. Thus, it might be believed that intertextuality not only reminds us of some ideas but also breaks down the barriers of the impossible. Nevertheless, intertextual associations tend to be the most popular among high-context cultures, since they initiate an atmosphere of ambiguity allowing the viewer of the message to read between the lines.

4.2. Graphology in advertisements

Graphology plays a crucial role in advertising discourse. It is also a source of hidden knowledge about the product. Taking into account the fact that, in perfume advertisements, the use of words is quite limited, its selection seems to be quite important to investigate. Graphology belongs to the factors that give extra weight to advertisements. It fulfils the meaning of advertisements and helps to interpret the message involved in them. Copywriters often refer to untypical ways of expressing their ideas. As a result, everyday rules according to which people function in life are very often flouted. The use of different varieties of typefaces, in their form or size and the way the layout is presented, cause the public to adopt certain things and make them noticeable. The ways in which words are represented in promotions and, consequently, advertising layouts, are the most essential elements to be explored as they have a straightforward effect on the potential customer.

4.2.1 Investigation of the typefaces involved in fragrance advertising

The employment of typefaces in fragrance promotion proves to be varied. There are primarily two main categories of typeface appearance, i.e. one kind for one advertisement and at least two kinds within one advertisement.
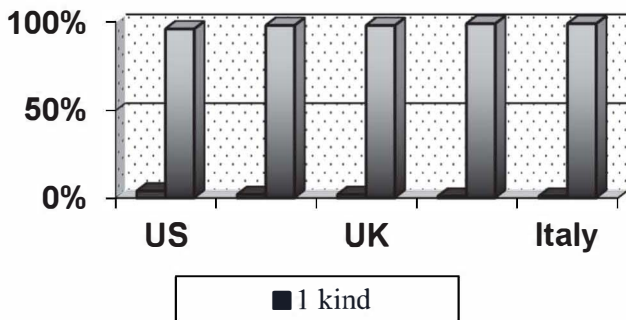
Graph 9. Use of different typefaces in all corpora

As Graph 9 shows, in the range of scent products, copywriters, probably due to the insignificant numbers of words employed in advertisements, try to create outstanding features by applying different typefaces. Although there are 10 per cent of all advertisements without words at all, 87 per cent of the whole collection has product names within the advertising frame. Also, most of the collected advertisements, i.e. 99 per cent, have brand names, thus different kinds of typefaces can be examined.

In examining the scope of typeface employment, it seems obvious that there must be more than just one typeface that dominates fragrance advertising discourse. As the percentages show, the use of diverse typefaces appears to be commonly visible in perfume advertisements and so such a variety of typefaces probably carries with itself cultural features. Copywriters choose to involve a diversity of forms in written utterances so as to emphasize the distinctive attributes of their product as well as to identify them according to their culture profiles. They intend to create a unique atmosphere and evoke pleasant emotions among their receivers.

In this context, the distinction between low- and high-context cultures in the sphere of typeface employment is investigated. Knowing that high-context cultures are fond of handwriting (Cowling & Mailer, 2011: 234), it is vital to give extra weight to the use of typefaces that imitate handwriting styles, namely different scripts as discovered by McCool (2007). The analysis shows a considerable number of so-called handwriting techniques is used in the French and Italian corpora with some cases spotted in the remaining British, German and American corpora, too.
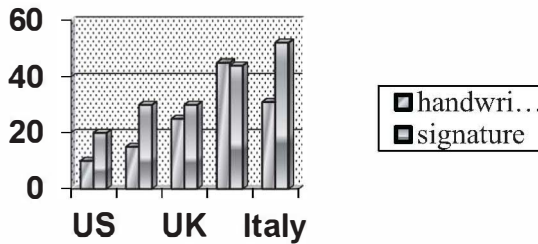
Graph 10. Use of handwriting fonts and signatures in all corpora

As demonstrated in Graph 10, the French collection reveals the highest number of cases (45) in which typefaces imitating handwriting occur. The number of advertisements with a signature (written name in personal handwriting) with or without the simulation of handwriting fonts seems to also be quite considerable, i.e. 44. In contrast, the Italian collections demonstrate far more signatures (52) within the advertising frame than typefaces appearing like handwriting (31). Such results tend to prove that high-context cultures are in favour of handwriting styles, as demonstrated by Cowling and Mailer (2011). By the use of a mock signature or handwriting, the communication act between 'writer' and 'reader' makes the message more individualised, more intimate and creates a warm and/or friendly atmosphere. In this sense, the reference to a signature gives the impression of being true, probable or apparent. Also, a message with such a signature – a personal touch – is to certify that the information provided in the advertisement is true. That seems to give 'readers' the feeling of an advertisement being personally and emotionally addressed to them.

In the Italian and French collections, the following cases of personal involvement could be spotted:

- signature (like an autograph, not necessarily legible) (**MONOPRIX:** *Laurena*);
- product name in the form of a handwritten signature (**Laura BIAGIOTTI:** *Laura Rose, Emotion, Sotto Voce*; **Pierre BALMAIN:** *Vent Vert*);
- product name in the form of handwritten letters with images printed on a handwritten piece of paper highlighting the product name by referring to a message (**Mariella BURANI:** *Messages*);

- some words in capital fonts "IL N'Y A RIEN DE PLUS IRRESISTIBLE"[9] (English: there is nothing more irresistible) and some in the form of handwriting "*qu'un murmure*" (English: that one whispers) putting emphasis on what a woman is going to have whispered in her ear – individual touch, secret message (**Laura BIAGIOTTI:** *Sotto Voce*);
- like a postcard or handwritten personal dedication under a visual representation (**BVLGARI:** *Eau Parfumé au Thé Ve*rt, **Laura BIAGIOTTI:** *Laura* [10]);
- initials (PB) – (**Pierre BALMAIN:** *Ivoire*);
- product name in the form of handwriting together with initials (**Pierre BALMAIN:** *Monsieur*).

Considering the fact that high-context cultures are keen on handwriting, a very interesting example appears in the case of fragrances from **Gabriela SABATINI.** The situation is extremely complex since the brand is of Argentinean origin due to Gabriela Sabatini being Argentinean. Now, the brand is owned by Coty, which is an American firm based in New York, but founded in Paris, France. Consequently, its advertisements must be influenced by both high- and low- context cultures. In this sense, it seems evident that handwritten utterances are more likely to be found there. On the one hand, in the case of most advertisements, thoughts are expressed by a slogan printed as handwriting, thus of a high-context character, as in in *Cascaya*: "The way you feel Cascaya", *Bolero*: "The rhythm of life", *Wild Wind*: "Feel the freedom". On the other hand, the slogans found in these advertisements also demonstrate a straightforward attitude, as in low-context cultures, by the use of a direct approach. It can be understood that copywriters give the impression that the actors in advertisements are particularly tuned in to individual 'readers' and, therefore, handwriting is believed to make the relation more personal. Therefore, naturally, there are some cases of low-context cultures that use such a technique, e.g. a handwritten signature with a full name referring to factual evidence that helps to establish the truth of an advertisement, as in *Woman* from **Betty BARKLEY** or *Havana* from **ARAMIS**.

As far as McCool's (2007) research is concerned, in the sphere of fragrance promotion, in high-context-cultures, such as French and Italian, special attention is paid to the appearance of the written utterance. Such advertising messages, in significant numbers, refer not to functionality but

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[9] (Fr.) 'Il n'y a rien de plus irrésistible'.

[10] (Sp.) 'La expresión del alma femenina' (English: expression of the female soul).

to manifestation. Appearance seems to be of considerable importance. Therefore, typefaces mitigating feelings of uncertainty and ambiguity tend to be fairly popular among such cultures. Therefore, apart from diverse *scripts,* a whole variety of *serif fonts* and *rich serif fonts* appears among the Italian and French collections.

Yet, such fonts appear to be quite popular among the other collections, namely British, American and German ones. This could be due to the fact that the perfume promotion world seems to be of a high-context character as a whole. Copywriters have to face the problem of illustrating the 'smell' and appearance of a scent to the senses through visual representation. How can one show a scent? It is quite complicated to do it with the use of images themselves; in this context other promotional phenomena must be referred to. Consequently, many fonts that are untypical among low-context users can still be spotted in such advertising messages. The research shows that all kinds of fonts, even ones demonstrating formality and/or authority as well as those associated with emotions, passion and/or credibility, are possible.

From this perspective, there are some interesting techniques used to emphasise the key aspects of the message in the advertising frame. They are associated with the use of bold letters, capital letters and underlining.
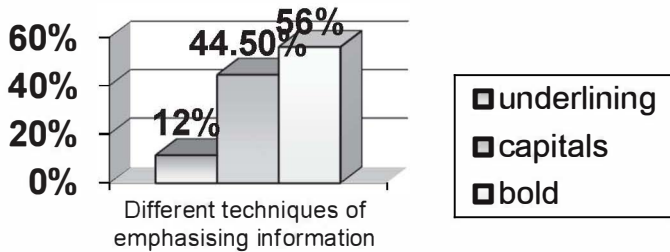
Graph 11. Different techniques for emphasising information in scent advertisements

As demonstrated in Graph 11, the most common emphasising technique that appears in all collections is the use of a bold typeface (56%). It seems to give extra weight to the messages sent by images in perfume advertisements. The second method is represented by capital letters (44.5%). In both cases, such typefaces are characteristic of print used to show emphasis. A bold typeface is hard to find in texts imitating handwriting, while capitals are spotted in other kinds of fonts. In the sense of Vachek's (1989) discoveries, bold type together with italics and small

capitals serves an emphatic and emotional function, namely, it can be applied to headings and captions briefly summarizing what is within the advertising frame. Considering that, they are more likely to be related to low-context values. Additionally, knowing that they are perceived as rather unaesthetic, as they cause the destruction of the so-called balance of the whole page, they are of a somewhat low-context type. Similarly, all kinds of capitals, since they can represent and identify the person speaking, provide visible evidence of copywriters' efforts to show the viewer/ reader a clear demonstration of the message sent. Thus, such cases should be more obvious in low-context cultures.

The research analysis shows such tendencies, since most cases appear in the American and German corpora considering all the examples found in the sphere of bold letters. Acknowledging also that capital letters are subject to low-context associations and predominantly occur in these collections, that would strongly suggest a reliance on the informative function of such advertisements. This is not so evident in the case of underlining. Particular examples show word(s) underlined so as to make reference to key information. Although underlined utterances are not widely distributed, they still have their own message to be sent. They can be used to both emphasize some values and/or initiate ambiguity in the communication process.

Despite the fact that examples of bold, capital and underlined characteristics can be found predominantly in low-context data, the whole investigated collection is full of such representations. They can appear in a situation when one word is underlined, or some words are underlined, or the whole written appearance is underlined.

To illustrate the variety of techniques used in the American and German collections, a few examples are demonstrated here:

- underlining (**Jaclyn SMITH:** *California*);
- using a bold typeface (**Vera WANG:** *Forever Vera & Vera Wang*);
- changing the typeface and bold (**Tom TAILOR:** *Bodytalk & ●cean*);
- capital and bold letters (**Elizabeth TAYLOR:** *Diamonds and Emeralds* & **Ellen TRACY:** *Imagine* & **Anna SUI:** *Anna Sui*);
- using different colours and bold (**Anna SUI:** *Secret Wish & Sui Dreams*);
- using different colours, bold and a different layout (**ADIDAS:** *Adventure Explores*);
- using capital letters (**ARAMIS:** *Always*);

- using capital and bold letters (**Jil SANDER:** *Pure* & **ARAMIS:** *New West*);
- changing the typeface from bigger to smaller (**Hugo BOSS:** *Dark Red*);
- changing the typeface from bigger to smaller, using different colours within the word(s), different typefaces including bold ones (**Elizabeth ARDEN:** *5TH Avenue*).

All the same, apart from cases of underlined elements, bold and capitals galore, quite a significant number of occurrences can be observed in the collections found in high-context cultures, such as French and Italian. Even though Great Britain is considered to be a rather low-context culture, its representation in this particular sphere of graphology appears to be noteworthy. Therefore, the most notable examples from these three collections should be highlighted. They refer, mainly to:

- underlining (**POLICE:** *Interactive*);
- using a bold typeface (**Giorgio ARMANI:** *White*);
- using different colours and typefaces (**ROCHAS:** *Absolu*);
- using capital and bold letters (**ROCHAS:** *Byzance*);
- one of the letters made bigger to stand out (**AZZARO:** *Organic Tonic*).

One of the most appealing cases appears with the employment of totally unexpected images, namely the use of Asian graphics, Japanese or Chinese signs on bodies (**EVU JEUNE:** *Possession*). It is true that such situations are rather uncommon, but there are other examples introducing unanticipated characteristics, e.g. Cyrillic features (**LANCÔME:** *Poeme*). All the presented methods are applied in order to stress the message, a word, or just some aspect of the advertisement.

The practice of using an unusual or sophisticated typeface is not very common, though it is a very good way to attract the audience in both low- and high-context cultures. Copywriters introduce Asian-looking signs or make the typeface more attractive by adding ornaments or different colours, especially in high-context cultures.

The appearance of irregularities in size within one particular utterance is also not without significance. These abnormalities, such as big and small letters in one word or bigger and smaller words in one sentence, refer to the process where a person concentrates on some features of the utterance and, therefore, they influence the audience (**Christian DIOR:** *Poison*). It is also necessary to shed light on the fact that some signs are

provided in an unnatural way. They do not create straight lines, as is believed to be the norm, rather they establish new patterns of gathered visible clues, like signs and signatures. Such an appearance sometimes might remind us of lines that create graphs and so on. In this light, there are also other techniques employed to catch the audience's attention, such as a typeface giving the impression of speed (**HARLEY-DAVIDSON:** *Territory* or **S. OLIVER:** *Soliver Sports*) or the placement of words in a word itself (**Jean PATOU:** *Joy*).

In the advertisement from **Nina RICCI:** *Memoired homme,* yet another interesting way of emphasizing the message is presented. The copywriter uses square brackets to introduce the name of the product. In the sphere of punctuation and similar signs there are also some written utterances that can refer to intonation patterns or stress (**Christian DIOR:** *J Adore EDT,* **Paul SMITH:** *London*). Sometimes, they can even be treated as a melody. This kind of speech representation brings music into the advert (**LANCÔME:** *Poeme*, **CARON** *Eauxde Caron*).

All the aforementioned techniques employed in the sphere of typefaces are intended to foreground some features of perfume advertisements as well as to appeal to the audience. Various methods make it possible to introduce new ideas about a project, associate it with a specific sphere of life and present the consumer consciously and unconsciously with the values of the product. It is not surprising that in order to introduce one particular product almost all catch points are found. That means that copywriters try to draw the attention of various individuals. For that reason, they perform according to the culture profile, i.e. if one technique does not succeed the next might work.

Such indications allow one to justify the results of previous studies (Smolińska, 2017a: 20) claiming that that there is a cline of low-context associations within fragrance advertising discourse. The significant numbers of various uses of typefaces in high-context-cultures tend to suggest that people are more likely to use a variety of fonts imitating hand writing as well as expressing feelings and emotions (usually decorative ones) while the members of low-context culture rely more on the functionality of fonts since they use language more for passing on information. The discoveries also show a kind of penetration between cultures which demonstrates their values and preferences.

4.2.2. Intertextuality in the sphere of layout

Copywriters employ different appearances for presented information via the use of images and/or words to attract as many potential buyers as

possible. As a result, they have to relate to the appropriate cultural values and associations since a reader/ viewer perceives information consciously and unconsciously through the prism of their own view of the world (Smolińska, 2017a: 28-29). The communication act is always rooted in the culture and the culture plays a significant role in understanding appropriate messages.

As was stated earlier, intertextuality can be observed in all types of cultures. In the range of graphology, layout seems to be one of its aspects. Since the area of representation of images within the advertising frame is quite complicated, there must be some specific examples to reveal its complexity and ambiguity. It must be emphasized, however, that in most cases due to its equivocalness, interpretations and understandings may differ from culture to culture. As a consequence, it is up to individual interpretation. Additionally, to clarify the statement that cultures can and do penetrate different spheres, some examples from both high- and low-context cultures are demonstrated.

In this context, the phenomenon of intertextuality in the range of layout arrangement can be illustrated in the following categories:

- *imitating a story – presented by the use of some pictures – in both high-context Italy and low-context US:*
  - ▶ *Giorgio ARMANI:* Acqua di Giò*;*
  - ▶ *Calvin KLEIN:* ckbe & Eternity*;*
- *imitating poems or just a stanza – only in low-context US:*
  - ▶ *Elizabeth ARDEN:* 5th Avenue:
    I am the
  leader
  > *of my own*
  > > *free world*
  - ▶ *Calvin KLEIN:* Ckone*;*
- *imitating letters or texts – only in high-context Italy and France;*
  - ▶ *GUCCI:* Guccino nr 3*;*
  - ▶ *GUERLAIN:* Habit Rouge & Vetiver 2*;*
- *imitating a page from a diary or a wall display popular among teenagers – only in low-context US;*
  - ▶ *Debbie GIBSON:* Electric Youth*;*
- *postcard with a stamp or without it – in both low-context US and high-context France;*
  - ▶ *GIORGIO BEVERLY HILLS:* Giorgiobhills*;*
  - ▶ *Ralph LAUREN:* Safari*;*
  - ▶ *LANVIN:* Arpege 951*;*

- *pictures from a monitoring/CCTV camera – only in high-context France;*
  ►*GIVENCHY:* ●blique, ●blique●●, ●blique2●●●;
- *film: sequences of images – only in low-context US;*
  ► *Carolina HERRERA*: 212 men;
- *negative of a picture – only in high-context France;*
  ►*HERMES:* 24 Faubourg;
- *bookmarker – only in high-context France;*
  ► *GUERLAIN*: Herba Fresca,
- *cover of a book or notebook – in both low-context US and high-context France;*
  ► *Carolina HERRERA:* Cherrera;
  ► *Serge LUTENS*: Cinque Splendide Fragranze;
- *photo album – in both low-context US and high-context France;*
  ► *Calvin KLEIN:* Eternity;
  ► *LANVIN*: Arpège 1987 & Arpège EDP;
- *layout from other advertisements – only in low-context US;*
  ► *LANCÔME*: Aroma Tonic;
- *personal diary – only in low-context US;*
  ► *Helena RUBINSTEIN:* Mens Club1;
- *page from a book – only in high-context France;*
  ► *Nina RICCI*: Airdu Temps.

Such a diversity of layout forms suggests that copywriters try to be universal in scent product promotion. They make all kinds of different attempts to prompt the curiosity of the audience. Moreover, they want to anticipate the public's preferences as to forms. The layout, in most cases, is used as a catch point, since it appears in front of the eyes as a whole. Therefore, it is the first thing to be acknowledged by a potential buyer. All things considered, as far as culture division is concerned, in low-context cultures there are more forms of layout imitating rather long texts, such as stories, poems or just a stanza from them, diaries, films etc. It seems rather logical as low-context cultures rely more on a written form than pictures, and for this reason, more text is expected to be found there.

In high-context cultures, on the other hand, there is more reliance on visual images, and therefore long texts are avoided unless they introduce a romantic atmosphere and a sense of mystery. For this reason, conventions demonstrating a negative of a picture, or an unclear scene from a CCTV camera, photo albums showing family life, other advertisements etc. are found.

5. Conclusions

The present study is an attempt to introduce a basic analysis of perfume advertisements taking into account the country-of-origin effect. It also covers the areas of knowledge connected with issues of both visual and verbal language. In investigating the gathered data, based on advertisements collected from the US, Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy, the aspect of culture differences is taken into consideration in the range of intertextuality as a separate phenomenon, and graphology based on studies of typefaces and layout is also discussed through the prism of intertextuality. For this reason, an effort was made to conduct the enquiry by referring to the issues of images as texts. The analysis provides both quantitative and qualitative studies of culture-specific advertising strategies embedded in a theoretical framework of high- versus low-context cultures so as to show the differences in the ways of perceiving information in various cultural spheres.

Given that all people nowadays have to face advertisements in their everyday life, the subject of advertisement discourse appears to be quite enchanting. To investigate how different cultures are influenced by other cultural values seems to be justified. It is also important to recognize that not all promotional messages meet the requirements and acceptance of other cultures. In this sense, it should be emphasised that all the techniques employed in the process of creating advertisements for any product shape people's ideas and influence their opinions. Therefore, the issue of intertextuality appeals to the mind as information that is already known, yet not necessarily realized or acknowledged. Consequently, the public are affected by two categories of information: that which has already been acquired and that which is new and connected with what has been learnt. In this light, there are far more examples revealed in high-context cultures, which are inclined to reuse already known texts, genres etc. Alternatively, advertisements from low-context cultures tend to confirm that fragrance promotional messages are of a high-context character with the occasional use of low-context values. In the sphere of intertextuality, they also illustrate intertextual correlations galore in the ranges of typefaces and layouts. The choice of typeface and layout used in perfume advertisements seems to focus not only on the product itself, but also on the consumer. All kinds of emotional links and personal relations might prompt the audience to become involved in the communication process. Moreover, such personal interaction might bring into existence effects desirable to copywriters and complete the communication process successfully by means of both the verbal and visual language used in different proportions.

The results of this particular research covering a range of fragrance advertising obviously confirm that high-context cultures, such as Italy and France, seem to rely on their cultural heritage, remaining faithful to their traditional values and historical associations. Low-context correlations discovered during the investigation are observed in the collections from the US and Germany, with just occasional cases for Great Britain. Such outcomes manifest that, in the range of advertising discourse, high-context characteristics create a subcategory of low-context messages, i.e. there exists a cline within the category and there exist two discrete categories, low- and high-context advertisements, as discovered in earlier studies (Smolińska, 2017a: 203).

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Polish Sur-Conventional Composers' Intertextual Poetics

Anna Granat-Janki

Abstract

The subject of my research, which concentrates on the issue of intertextuality, are the works of three composers who represent a trend in Polish post-modern music called surconventionalism. These are: Stanisław Krupowicz, Paweł Szymański and Paweł Mykietyn. They developed certain idiomatic composing principles of shaping the structure, architectonics and style of a work of music, which allows one to talk about the poetics of their music. This poetics is based on a dialogue with tradition which manifests itself in intertextual relations. In order to properly describe the characteristics of these composers' intertextual poetics, the following issues will be taken into account: 1. the problem of quotation (text-text relation), 2. references to genre and stylistic archetypes (text-architext relation), 3. cultural relations (text-reality relation).

It will also be essential to take into consideration the deconstruction technique which plays a significant role in the process of composition and reception of surconventional music. The issues related to the problem of intertextual poetics will include not only the whole of characteristics and relations of the texts (works), but also the ways in which they are understood by the listeners, who are the participants of a communicative process. Thus, on the one hand the inter- and architextual references will be indicated, and on the other hand the possibilities of recognizing these references by the listeners will be discussed.

Key terms: intertextual poetics, surconventionalism, dialogue with tradition, cultural heritage communicative proces

1. Introduction

The crisis of the concept of 'novelty' in the second half of the 20th century, the awareness of the fact that the leading trends in philosophy and art have been exhausted ('the culture of exhaustion') and the impossibility of creating an original author's work ('the death of the author') have led to the situation in which it is the relationship between texts that is emphasized. The concept of intertextuality, introduced in literary studies by Julia Kristeva (1983: 396) in the 1960s, has with time expanded its scope beyond the primary meaning, becoming a fruitful research method used in all fields of art and culture, including musicology. According to Ryszard Nycz (1995: 61), intertextuality 'is a suppressed or overt dimension of every type of expression'. Such a broad operating range of this category could be accepted from the perspective of semiotics of culture (Nycz 2012: 155).

In this article intertextuality will be treated as a key category for describing one of the most important aspects of postmodern music, that is the relations between texts. The author has adopted the definition proposed by Nycz (1995: 62), who suggests a broad understanding of intertextuality as 'a category that includes the aspect of a text's characteristics and relations which points to the dependence of the text's creation and reception on how much knowledge of other texts and 'architexts' […] the participants of the communication process have'. According to Nycz in order to apply this category one has to consider three problems pertaining to the relations between: 1. texts (text-to-text relation), 2. text and system – a text as related to style, genre, tradition (text-to-architext relation) and 3. text and its social, historical and cultural context (text-to-reality relation) Nycz 1995: 65ff).

The subject of my research, which concentrates on the issue of intertextuality, are the works of three composers who represent a trend in Polish postmodern music called sur-conventionalism. These composers are: Stanisław Krupowicz and Paweł Szymański – the fathers of the trend who coined the term "sur-conventionalism" – and Paweł Mykietyn, who adopted his master's – that is Paweł Szymański's – method[1]. They developed certain idiomatic composing principles of shaping the structure, architectonics and style of a work of music, which allows one to talk about the poetics of their music. This poetics is based on a dialogue with

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[1] Mykietyn treated Paweł Szymański as his master. When talking to Agata Kwiecińska he admitted: "The contact with Szymański's music was for me the important musical meeting […]. He was my master". Eadem, *W co gra Paweł Szymański* [What does Paweł Szymański play], *Ruch Muzyczny* 2007 no. 10.

tradition which manifests itself in intertextual relations. In order to properly describe the characteristics of these composers' intertextual poetics, the following issues will be taken into account: 1. the problem of quotation (the text-to-text relation, as suggested by Ryszard Nycz), 2. references to genre and stylistic archetypes (the text-to-architext relation), 3. cultural relations (the text-to-reality relation)[2]. It will also be essential to take into consideration the deconstruction technique which plays a significant role in the process of composition and reception of sur-conventional music. The issues related to the problem of intertextual poetics will include not only the whole of characteristics and relations of the texts (works), but also the ways in which they are understood by the listeners, who are the participants of a communicative process. Thus, on the one hand the inter- and architextual references will be indicated, and on the other hand the possibilities of recognizing these references by the listeners will be discussed.

2. The problem of quotation

This problem refers to a situation in which one musical work exists within another one. It should be clarified here that this issue will be treated very broadly, as quotation *sensu largo*. The term will, thus, be used – following Włodzimierz Bolecki's definition – to refer to 'text relations for which some prototypes can be found' (Bolecki 1991: 13).These be can both empirical quotations which repeat some fragment of the source text accurately as well as 'any recognizable references to literary or artistic tradition or to culture in general'(Bolecki 1991: 13), such as: allusion, parody, pastiche, stylization, etc., that is situations in which something is not so much quoted as imitated.

In the works which are discussed here source (literal) quotation is something rare. Szymański claims that familiar ideas "are not taken from somewhere but they remind you of something familiar thanks to their syntax'[3]. They create in the listener a need to reconstruct the original and thereby provoke them to "enter into an active relationship with the work'[4].

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[2] As Ryszard Nycz points out: "Intertextuality defines the sphere of mediatization between the whole of intertextual properties and the area of extratextual references and determinants in a social, historical and cultural reality" (1995: 81).

[3] Paweł Szymański talking to Natalia Szwab, Warsaw, November 2009. Quoted after: Eadem, *Wokół muzyki i postawy estetycznej Pawła Szymańskiego* [On Paweł Szymanski's music and aesthetic attitude], *Res Facta Nova* 2014, vol. 15 (24). p. 36.

[4] Ibidem.

Thus, literal quotations are exceptions. They can be found in Paweł Szymański's compositions such as *Miserere* (Gregorian chant), *Lux aeterna* (a theme from a 15th-century song *L'homme armé), Recalling a Serenade* (formulas taken from Carl M. Weber's *Clarinet Concerto*, op. 73 No. 1, and *Clarinet Quintet in Bb Major*, op. 3, and from W.A. Mozart's *Symphony in G Minor* KV 550). Stanisław Krupowicz used literal quotations in his *Wariacje pożegnalne na temat Mozarta* [Farewell variations on a theme by Mozart] (*Minuet* from *Eine kleine Nacht Musik* and *Requiem in D Minor* by Mozart), *Miserere* (Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere* and Gregorian chant) and *Concerto na saksofon tenorowy i komputery* [Concerto for tenor saxophone and computers] (a French secular song *L'homme armé*), while Paweł Mykietyn introduced someone else's text in his *Eine kleine Herbstmusik* (the radio signal of the former Polish Radio Programme 2 composed by Paweł Szymański).

The composers usually use transformed quotations. In Paweł Szymański's *Sonata* for strings and percussion the pre-text is Karol Szymanowski's Mazurka, op. 62 No. 2, which undergoes transformations. The quotation technique is well-developed in works by Stanisław Krupowicz, who uses allusion (to Andalusian music in *Alcoforado* and to Charles Ives' *Unanswered Question* in *Unquestioned Answer*), parody (an unmasking mockery of *Minuet* from Mozart's *Eine keine Nacht Musik* in *Farewell Variations on a Theme by Mozart*), pastiche (imitation of both baroque and jazz style in the opera *Europe* based on Willliam Blake's work), symbolic quotation (a quote of the Trisagion hymn *Święty Boże, święty Mocny* [Holy God, Holy Strong] held up on a dominant in the final cadence of the *Second String Quartet*), collage (*Tako rzecze Bosch* [Thus Spoke Bosch], *Fin de sciècle*) and self-quotation (*Pewien szczególny przypadek pewnego uogólnionego kanonu w kwarcie i w kwincie* [A Special Case of a Certain Generalized Canon at the Fourth and at the Fifth], *A Lighter Shade of Grey*). Paweł Mykietyn in turn often employs allusion or collage, for example in the third movement of his *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra*, where he successively presents fragments that allude to baroque, classical, romantic and marching music. He also likes to use parody – in the same concerto he mocks the classical convention by entrusting a virtuoso cadenza not to a pianist but to a violinist.

3. Archetypes

3.1. Genre archetypes

Let us now examine the idiomaticity of sur-conventionalists' works in terms of intertextual relations between specific compositions and genre archetypes which provide a point of reference for the genre classification of those compositions. The Polish composers draw on such genre archetypes (treated as text structures) as: opera, oratorio, theme and variations, solo concerto, quartet, symphony, sonata, partita or serenade. The references can be of two different kinds. The first approach consists in respecting genre norms (for example the three-movement form of the sonata cycle or the three-phase structure of the sonata form) while at the same time aiming at reviving old genres. As Stanisław Krupowicz points out: 'the main structures are recognizable, the composition, however, has also its own inner life which brings in something new every time, with every listening'[5]. It often happens that the composers do not follow the structural principles of genres literally but create "illusory structures" which consist of models taken from reality, thus playing with perception mechanisms. Szymański for example, in works such as *quasi una sinfonietta* and *Recalling a Serenade*, uses elements typical of the syntax of classical music, such as themes or Alberti bass, which he then deconstructs. A distinctive feature of his composer's technique is the interference with musical syntactic rules, manifesting itself mainly through the incompleteness and disturbance of the order, which is the result of holding up or multiplying a selected structural element or interrupting the continuity of musical narration with rests. Similar means are used by Paweł Mykietyn, for example in his *Piano Concerto*.

The second approach to genre archetypes should also be discussed here. All the composers draw on baroque contrapuntal forms, such as fugue or canon, which become starting points for new compositions. In this approach the archetypal form becomes a pre-composition model. Different composers, however, implement this concept differently. For Stanisław Krupowicz the pre-composition structure of the canon is a starting point for composing a 'generalised canon' by assigning new musical fragments to each note. This is how he composed[6] *Fin de siècle*,

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[5] Anna Granat-Janki's interview with Stanisław Krupowicz, 14 Jan. 2005.
[6] The composer explains this concept in his commentary on String Quartet No. 2, in: Program koncertu *Portret kompozytora – Stanisław Krupowicz* [Stanisław Krupowicz   a portrait of the composer, concert programme], Filharmonia Narodowa, Warszawa 4 Jun. 1991.

in which he replaced the notes of the original three-part canon with musical fragments based on 12 composer's techniques (EX. 1). In this way the original canon became an algorithm of a new composition.

Example 1: *Fin de siècle* by Stanisław Krupowicz

Composer's techniques in the 20th century:
    I – dodecaphonic technique
    II – aleatory techniques
    III – modal techniques
    IV – sonoristic techniques
    I.
    1.   dodecaphony according to Schönberg
    2.   Webern's punctualism
    3.   total serialism – Messiaen
    II.
    1.   total aleatory technique – Cage
    2.   controlled aleatory technique – Lutosławski
    3.   stochastic aleatory technique – Xenakis
    III.
    1.   modalism – Messiaen
    2.   generalised heterophony
    3.   single-voice heterophony
    IV.
    1.   noises, 'weird' sounds
    2.   glissandos
    3.   clusters

Composer's techniques and corresponding tones of the twelve-tone scale:
    'C' – generalised heterophony
    'C#' – Webern's punctualism
    'D' – dodecaphony according to Schönberg
    'D#' – monophonic heterophony
    'E' – total aleatory technique (Cage)
    'F' – modalism (Messiaen)
    'F#' – controlled aleatory technique
    'G' – total serialism
    'G#' – glissandos
    'A' – clusters
    'B' – stochastic aleatory technique

Paweł Szymański and Paweł Mykietyn take a different approach. They treat the canon as an "original structure"[7] which becomes the fundamental material of a new composition, meant to be transformed horizontally and vertically. The result is a two-level music composition[8]. This is how Paweł Szymański implements his idea, that is "the utopia of composing music with a subtext that cannot really be heard, and what can actually be heard results from transformation of this deeper structure and may imply it" (Szymański 1996: 394). The examples of music based on the above-mentioned concept include Szymański's compositions such as *Partita III*, where the pre-composition material is a three-part fugue, or *Partita IV*, where the composer has used a four-part perpetual canon, and Paweł Mykietyn's works such as *3 for 3*, which is based on a four-part fugue.

Stylistic archetypes

The composers draw on various music styles (stylistic conventions) characteristic of different music history periods in order to create a new "musical reality". Their interest focuses on playing with styles-conventions and it is not a given style that is important but the context in which it is used. This method of juxtaposing several stylistic conventions in order to create a new context was described by Stanisław Krupowicz with the term sur-conventionalism (Krupowicz 1994: 57). A convention is for him what the listener recognizes as familiar and sur-conventionalism is "the art of composing contexts"[9].

The composers use conventions in two ways. The first one consists in **juxtaposing** elements of old styles. As a result, familiar melodic or harmonic formulas of traditional musical language are placed in a different context. This resembles a situation in which, as Szymański says, "we would cut Frescobaldi's ricercars randomly into tiny pieces and then put those pieces together, not, however, according to their original meaning,

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[7] Paweł Szymański also calls it "deep structure". See: Idem, From Idea to Sound: A Few Remarks on my Way of Composing, in: From Idea to Sound, Kraków 1985, p. 134 and Rozwiązać łamigłówkę... Z Pawłem Szymańskim rozmawia Marta Ługowska [Solving a puzzle... Marta Ługowska talks to Paweł Szymański], Ruch Muzyczny 1986 no. 18, p. 5.

[8] The two-level structure of a composition, which is consistent with the concept of sur-convetionalism, may bring associations with a palimpsest as in this structure "another text peeps through the real one and this another text has been transformed, deformed, made incomplete, sometimes it is quite distinct, but sometimes one can only guess that it exists as a subtext". Ewa Szczecińska talking to Paweł Szymański, Polskie Radio Warszawa, Program II, 17 Nov. 2004.

[9] Anna Granat-Janki's interview with Stanisław Krupowicz, op. cit.

but […] according to their length, from the longest to the shortest one (Szymański 1996: 5). In Krupowicz's view, the point is "to take freely, trimming here and there, so that it suits our needs" (Krupowicz 1994a: 57). As a result, the listener has the impression that the music is incoherent and lacks continuity. This approach to musical conventions is typical especially of Stanisław Krupowicz and can be found in most of his works, for example *Tako rzecze Bosch* [Thus said Bosh], *Tylko Beatrycze* [Only Beatrice], *Alcoforado* and *String Quartet* No. 2. This composer focuses on the play of styles (conventions), which he achieves thanks to, among other things, the collage technique consisting in combining various stylistically incoherent fragments and structures in one composition. An interesting example of such musical collage is *Fin de sciècle*. In this composition, which is "the author's squaring up with the closing epoch" (Krupowicz 1994b: 144), one can find not only "a review of contemporary composer's techniques", but also references to jazz and popular music symbolized by The Beatles' songs such as *She loves you* and *All you need is love*. This mixture of stylistic conventions shows that the boundaries between elite and egalitarian art are getting blurred. It is a "double-coded" piece addressed to listeners of various tastes and knowledge. The peculiarity of this juxtaposition stimulates the listener's memory, intellect and imagination, forcing them to search for a hidden meaning. This meaning, however, is ambiguous and cannot be interpreted unequivocally.

The above-described method of juxtaposing stylistic conventions can also be found in some of Paweł Szymański's works (*quasi una sinfonietta*, *Recalling a Serenade*, *Ceci n'est pas une ouverture*) and Paweł Mykietyn's pieces (*Piano Concerto*).

The other way of working with conventions is their **coexistence**. This method is used by both Szymański and Mykietyn. For them the stylistic forms associated with the Baroque convention, such as the canon or fugue, become pre-composition material which is then deconstructed. Their structural elements are used to create new compositions based on principles which are alien to the Baroque style. The result are pieces in which a different text peeps through the real one. It is a kind of a musical palimpsest. The important thing is that the listener should have the impression that another, original piece goes on simultaneously with the one they can hear, but only some of its fragment do materialize[10].

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[10] Szymański (2006) explains that: "there is some structure that is a starting point for a composition but only its elements appear in the composition itself […]. As a result it is as if another, original piece went on in silence simultaneously with the one you can hear, but only some of its fragment do materialize" (2006: 70).

The composers' style can be described as eclectic[11]. Krupowicz often juxtaposes in a surprising way tonal fragments with episodes of different character, e.g. heterophonic, quasi-aleatory or jazz ones, or with sections alluding to Karol Szymanowski's music, as in *String Quartet* No. 2. Paweł Mykietyn uses a similar method in his *Piano Concerto* where stylistically different fragments follow one another. The composers engage in a kind of play with the conventions borrowed from tradition. They deconstruct the historical material in order to create a new whole from its elements. They often evoke tonal structures and the major-minor tonal aura. Those means, however, are always put in inverted commas as the progressions (e.g. dominant-tonic) and tonal sequence patterns are repeated many times, selected chords are held up, the figures are blurred by glissandos and traditional structures, like Alberti bass, disassembled – all this producing a parodic effect and pointing to an ironic redefinition of tradition. The use of inverted commas, metaphor and paradox allows the composers to distance themselves from the past that they draw on and protects them from slipping into banality[12].

The composers draw on stylistic conventions (baroque, classical) which are well-established in the listener's psyche and that is why he or she can take part in the play of conventions. By deforming the grammar and syntax of the historical text they provoke the listener into guessing.

4. A work of music and a cultural universe

It is justified to examine sur-convetionalists' works in terms of their relation with cultural context because, as Jurij Łatman, a Russian semiotician of culture, claims, "culture as a whole may also be understood as a text"[13]. Ryszar Nycz in turn points out that "intertextuality defines the sphere of mediatization between the whole of intertextual properties and the area of extratextual references and determinants in a social, historical and cultural reality"(Nycz 2012: 81).

Having analysed the problem of representation of postmodernist culture in sur-convetionalists' works, one may conclude that the elements of this culture are reflected in their music like in a mirror. Pluralism is the paradigm of postmodern culture. In postmodernist art it refers to the

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[11] Today eclecticism brings negative associations. In the old times, however, according to the original Greek meaning of the term it referred to the idea of selecting, on the basis of reliable criteria, what was best and creating a new, more perfect whole out of it. Cf. Sztabiński (1994: 23-29).

[12] See Paweł Szymański's comments in: Szymański (1996: 11).

[13] J. Łotman (1985: 341, quoted after: H. Markiewicz (1996: 215).

multitude of media, styles, genre and artistic attitudes. In the composers' practice one may notice the lack of privileged stylistic conventions. They have rejected the modernist idea that every epoch has one style and in its place they adopted the idea of stylistic pluralism.

In sur-conventionalists' music the connections with postmodernist culture manifest themselves through such elements as:

1. the return to tradition in order to create new compositions in which historical elements acquire new sense and meaning;
2. the play with tradition aimed at the audience who have a high level of competence and knowledge;
3. intertextuality – every composition contains references or alludes to other works, or comments on them;
4. stylistic eclecticism, a preference for hybrid forms;
5. blurred boundaries between "highbrow" and "lowbrow" culture.

The music of sur-conventional composers is thus a testimony to the time when intertextuality became the fundamental feature of art. Their works are texts which have been written over other texts and they reveal a multitude of intertextual relations. Each of them is a kind of mosaic of quotations and stylistic idioms, which, placed in a new context, entertain and often surprise listeners. The composers juggle with music of the past and do it with ironic detachment which causes that the semantic field of their music is unclear and ambiguous. This leads to problems with clear-cut interpretation of its sense and meaning. In sur-conventional music one deals with a free play on meanings and with dispersed sense as the compositions are entangled in a net of interextual relations. Sur-conventional works provoke multiple and diverse associations and this is where their artistic value lies.

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Women in the Polish Language of Sports: Feminatives and Other Displays of Gender Asymmetry

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Abstract

The chapter analyses various displays of gender asymmetry in Polish sports language. The major part is dedicated to feminatives, i.e. female names for sports competitors. The author describes word-formation mechanisms and verifies the presence of sports feminatives in the most popular Polish online dictionaries in relation to their masculine equivalents. The text briefly mentions also the contexts in which the feminatives appear in search engines, gender marking and sexism in phraseology. The conclusion is that the Polish language is not following the social changes related to gender, which may confirm to some extent the patriarchal character of its culture.

Key terms: feminatives, gender linguistics, language of sports

1. Introduction

Language, through its grammar, morphology, vocabulary and phraseology, reflects social beliefs about gender roles. Gender manifests itself most clearly in inflexion and word formation (Rejter, 2013: 25). According to Baudouin de Courtenay, the domination of masculine forms over feminine ones in Slavic languages reveals the patriarchal character of these cultures (cf. Araeva and Miturska-Bojanowska 2011: 17-18) and is a manifestation of power (Rejter 2013: 25). This claim could be questioned, since patriarchy is not unknown to the cultures that use genderless languages; however, there is certainly a strong relation between the structure

of a language and the worldview of its speakers, as claimed in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. It is, therefore, a challenge faced by Polish and other Slavic languages to adjust to a new reality, where gender roles are changing and new referents are appearing. Such new referents are, among others, women performing activities allowed exclusively for men in the past, e.g. in sports.

Every year, female presence in sports becomes more significant. Probably every discipline in the world is represented by both genders at the professional level, while at the beginning of the past century most of them were prohibited for women. Language, however, does not necessarily follow social transformation at the same rate. The chapter studies the status of women in the language of sports, including analysis of the level of acceptance of feminative names in dictionaries and their contexts, as well as the stereotypes kept alive by the phraseology.

2. Female presence in sports: a retrospective

The status of women in sports is undergoing trends similar to those in other fields of social life, although, as stated by Honorata Jakubowska (2014: 14), 'sports is considered one of the most important 'bastions' of male domination, hegemonic masculinity, whose meaning is increasing due to feminization of other areas of social life'. Despite obvious changes, it 'remains an institution dominated by men' (Deshpande 2016: 546). To illustrate the slow feminization of sports, some data about the Olympic Games shall be evoked, since they are the major and most representative sporting events, although they include only selected disciplines.

Around 4700 women performed in the 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro, which comprised 45% of the participants (IOC 2016: 5). In the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi there were 1800 male and 1000 female competitors[1]. Since the first Winter Olympic Games in Chamonix in 1924 and the first modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896, the percentage of competing sportswomen has increased from 4.3% to just 40.3% in the former (although the Vancouver Games in 2010 ranked the highest with 40.7%) and from 0% to 45% in the latter (IOC 2016: 5). Women were not allowed to participate in the first modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896. Even though Starnatia Rovithi, a Greek mother of seven children, completed the distance without approval in more than five hours, the

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[1] *Olympic Winter Games number of participating athletes from 1924 to 2014, by gender.* (2014, February). Retrieved from
http://www.statista.com/statistics/266368/number-of-winter-olympic-games-participants-since-1924-by-gender/

female marathon was included in the Olympic program almost 90 years later, in Los Angeles 1984 (Gems, Borish & Pfister 2017: 182). In Antwerp 1920 there was an attempt at including women's running races, but the IOC authorities argued that 'a woman running distances longer than 800 meters gets old fast'[2]. Although constant, the increase in the number of female participants in the Olympic Games is slow. In only two national teams – Australia[3] and the US[4] – women have outnumbered male participants. To some extent, the reason for this disproportion lies in the asymmetry of disciplines in the Olympic program.

In 1900 in Paris, only two out of 85 disciplines were open to women (golf and tennis). Some women competed unofficially in other disciplines, however. Due to poor promotion, the gold medallist in golf, Margaret Abbott representing the US, passed away unconscious of the fact that the contest she had entered was part of the Games (Mallon 1998: 10). In London 2012, the number of disciplines was almost equal for men and women. The differences concerned mostly weight classes, like in combat sports (boxing, wrestling), canoeing, rowing and weightlifting, and Nordic combined in the Winter Games. There are also female "equivalents" of events for men, such as the heptathlon in athletics (the decathlon in men's competition), different distances (100 m hurdles vs. 110 m hurdles, 30 km vs. 50 km cross country skiing) and many others (e.g. the weight of the equipment in the hammer throw and shot put, different point values for jumps in figure skating, a lower net in volleyball, and, outside of the Olympic games, the number of sets in tennis). Gender discrimination is also directed towards men. The allowing of male synchronized swimmers to compete in the World Championships in 2015 was met with disapproval from some female athletes. Moreover, men are not allowed to compete in two Olympic disciplines: synchronized swimming and rhythmic gymnastics[5], which are the only disciplines completely dominated by women and considered 'feminine'[6].

Introducing parallel disciplines in the Olympic program is successfully leading to equalization of the number of medallists of both genders.

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[2] *Pierwszy raz na igrzyskach.* Retrieved from
http://www.olimpijski.pl/pl/81,pierwszy-raz-na-igrzyskach.html
[3] *Females bridge gender gap.* Retrieved from
http://corporate.olympics.com.au/olympic-feature/females-bridge-gender-gap
[4] *Women to Watch in the Rio Olympics,* (2016, August 10). Retrieved from
https://www.aauw.org/2016/08/10/women-to-watch-in-the-rio-olympics/
[5] https://www.olympic.org/sports
[6] Figure skating could also be included in this category, despite many remarkable male athletes, such as Evgeni Plushenko; furthermore, men perform the most spectacular revolutions, such as quadruple jumps.

Asymmetries are caused by historical and financial factors, long-standing male domination in sports and the necessity of removing men's events so that the female ones can be included without exceeding the limit. To the majority of sportsmen, the Olympic Games are the major event in their competition schedule; consequently, non-Olympic sports are often considered less prestigious and to many athletes it is a matter of great importance to include them in the program. Undoubtedly, however, the disproportion results from social and cultural reasons (Jakubowska 2014: 264).

Bogusław Nowowiejski (2011: 166) lists five extralinguistic features of the feminization of sports:

a) women started doing professional sports;
b) among the disciplines practiced by women, except for the ones traditionally considered feminine (e.g. gymnastics, archery, equestrianism, tennis, swimming, skiing, skating, especially figure skating), there are new ones (road bicycle racing, track cycling and mountain bike racing, snowboard, windsurfing, pole vault, triple jump, 400 meters hurdles);
c) among the disciplines practiced by women, there are also those that were considered masculine in the past, 'that require big physical strength, stamina or that are not esthetic' (e.g. football, martial arts, like boxing, wrestling, judo, karate, whitewater kayaking, weightlifting, hammer throw, long distance running, marathon, racewalking, bobsleigh);
d) direct competition between men and women, apart from mixed doubles in tennis and pair skating, is more frequent;
e) fans and media started paying equal attention to the successes of both sportsmen and sportswomen (such as *Złotka* – 'The Goldies', the Polish women's national volleyball team, *Otylka* – diminutive for Otylia [Jędrzejczak]).

The criterion of aesthetics in the enumeration above, being extremely subjective, comes as a surprise in a scientific text. Also, the last point is quite controversial, if the disproportion in air time dedicated to male and female sports is taken into account (Jakubowska 2014: 383)[7]. Still, the increase in female presence in sports is undeniable.

Women entering areas of social life that were unavailable to them earlier generate the need for the creation of new terms in the language,

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[7] According to research conducted by Jakubowska in 2008, the air time and sport news dedicated to female sports is 90% less than for male sports.

since new referents have to be named. In most languages that distinguish the category of grammatical gender, feminine noun forms are derived from the masculine (cf. also Jakobson 1971: 212), which explains the domination of the latter. In the next section, I will take a closer look at the word formation mechanisms in Polish and the status of feminine names for sports competitors in the dictionaries.

3. Formation of feminatives in Polish

In Polish, feminine job titles – feminatives – mostly derive from masculine forms. The derivation process begins when the proportion between men and women practicing a profession becomes balanced; until then, masculine forms are used for both genders (Zadykowicz 2012: 275) and function as generic terms.

Formation of female forms can take two paths (Małocha-Krupa 2015: 9-10). The first one consists of a masculine form without transformation in its structure and an additional lexical element indicating the gender of the referent. This mechanism results in analytic forms, such as *pani dyrektor, pani profesor* (literally 'Mrs. headmaster', 'Mrs. professor'). Some linguists consider them a display of equality (Małocha-Krupa 2015: 9). Undeniably, masculine forms enjoy higher prestige than the feminine and hence have many adherents. Since masculine forms are also generic, they can designate both men and women, and there are many enthusiasts of the theory that indicating gender in the form of a job title is harmful to gender equality. Katarzyna Paprzycka claims that the issue cannot be resolved unless neutral forms are established (Paprzycka 2009).

The second mechanism creates a new word form by adding the exponent of gender to a masculine noun. Since there is no word formation type exclusive for female forms, almost all of them derive from the masculine job titles and not from the job names themselves (Grochowska and Wierzbicka 2015: 46).

The latter mechanism was successfully used in Polish in the first half of the twentieth century. The communist policy based on an erroneous understanding of equality erased many forms that displayed gender. Using masculine job titles for women was considered a sign of progress (Woźniak 2014: 304). Recently, thanks to increased female presence in public discourse and the intensive activity of feminists, synthetic female forms have regained their status in language (Piotrowicz and Witaszek-Samborska 2015: 88). This mechanism, although productive, creates controversies of phonetic, semantic and even aesthetic nature.

3.1. Feminatives in the language of sports

Nowowiejski (2011: 165) confirms an increase in the vocabulary connected with sports in dictionaries of Polish, including the names for representatives of particular disciplines. Additionally, numerous terms that used to be associated with leisure have received the quantifier "sports", e.g. canoeing, cycling, archery, bridge, chess, fishing.

Certainly, the appearance of feminatives has enriched the dictionaries. The most productive suffix used to create female forms for sportspeople, as in other semantic fields, is *–ka*. Some examples are given in (1):

(1)
   a. *kajakarka, łyżwiarka* (fem. 'canoeist', 'ice skater'), from masculine forms ending in *-arz* – *kajakarz, łyżwiarz*;
   b. *łuczniczka* (fem. 'archer'), from masculine forms ending in *-ik* – *łucznik*;
   c. *alpinistka, florecistka* (fem. 'alpinist', 'foil fencer'), from masculine forms ending in *-ista/-ysta* – *alpinista, florecista*;
   d. *dyskobolka, sprinterka* (fem. 'discus thrower', 'sprinter'), from the masculine forms with zero suffix – *dyskobol, sprinter*.

Only the nouns *mistrzyni, wicemistrzyni* (fem. 'champion', 'vice-champion') are created with a different suffix *-yni/-ini* (from *mistrz, wicemistrz*).

Nowowiejski (2011) compares the presence of female forms connected with sports in two dictionaries: *Słownik Języka Polskiego* (ed. Witold Doroszewski) from 1958-1969 and *Uniwersalny Słownik Języka Polskiego* from 2003. Doroszewski's dictionary registers only 39 female names for almost 100 male forms while the Universal Dictionary gives twice as many female forms (78) and only 60% more male forms. The feminatives added to the dictionary are mostly those related to relatively new disciplines or those in which women were allowed to compete recently, such as biathlon, football, Himalayan mountaineering, pentathlon, snowboard, triathlon, but also javelin throw and gymnastics (Nowowiejski 2011: 167). The recent entry of *gimnastyczka* (fem. 'gymnast') is especially surprising, since gynmastics is stereotypically considered to be a feminine discipline.

Słownik języka polskiego, an online dictionary ranked in the first position in search engines, although edited in 2005 and constantly updated, does not register some of the feminatives which are used in formal speech, such as *kulomiotka* (fem. 'shot putter'), *trójskoczkini* (fem. 'triple jumper')

or *zapaśniczka* (fem. 'wrestler'). Also, the word *siedmioboistka* (fem. 'heptathlonist') does not appear, although *dziesięcioboistka* (fem. 'decathlonist') is registered. It should be pointed out here that heptathlon is the female equivalent of the decathlon.

It seems that female titles in sports become accepted in Polish, both in informal and formal speech, more easily than in other fields of social life. It is uncommon to use masculine forms for sportswomen (e.g. **tyczkarz Anna Rogowska* – masc. 'pole vaulter', **pływak ●tylia Jędrzejczak* – masc. 'swimmer'), which tends to happen in other professions (e.g. *premier Beata Szydło* – masc. 'Prime Minister Beata Szydło', *reżyser Agnieszka Holland* – masc. 'director Agnieszka Holland', *doktor Ewa Kowalska* – masc. 'doctor Ewa Kowalska').

Many disciplines that are new or less popular in Poland have not yet created either feminine or masculine titles, although formally it is possible (e.g. futsal, cricket, polo, squash, curling, lacrosse). Particular forms of martial arts can be included in this group, even the most widespread ones, e.g. judo and karate. The masculine noun *karateka* has appeared in dictionaries only in the 21st century and the female form, *karateczka*, is not registered, although in use.

It is worth mentioning two nouns created through borrowings from English – *oldbojka* and *sportsmenka*. In Polish, there is no registered female form for *oldboy*. While in English *oldgirl* is gaining acceptance, Marek Łaziński (2006) claims that the declination of such a noun would be problematic in Polish and suggests using terms such as 'experienced footballers' (*doświadczone piłkarki*) or 'seniors' (*seniorki*). However, search engines give results for *oldbojka*, a borrowing of an English form plus a feminine suffix. Another example created through exactly the same mechanism is *sportsmenka* 'sportswoman'. As stated by Jakubowska (2014: 526), this word "does not refer in any way (…) to a woman, moreover, it contains the lexeme *man*". Neither *sportswoman* nor *sportowczyni* are in wide use in Polish.

3.2. Obstacles to the formation of feminatives

As mentioned before, the disproportion between male and female forms has a socio-cultural background. Although derivation seems possible in every case, many feminatives encounter resistance among language users. Potential linguistic limitations include phonological difficulties, ambiguity, the selection of a suffix, stylistic issues and narrowing of the meaning (cf. Grochowska and Wierzbicka 2015: 52).

The first limitation concerns the articulatory difficulties resultant from the creation of a consonant cluster, especially by adding the suffix *-ka*, e.g. *architektka* (fem. 'architect'), *ekspedientka* (fem. 'sales assistant') [8]. Among the feminatives analyzed for this chapter, this obstacle is absent.

Ambiguity is a significant problem of this group of nouns, since many feminine forms have a different meaning, previous to female presence in sports. These are, among others:

(2)
a.   *alpejka* (fem. 'inhabitant of the Alpes' vs. fem. 'Alpine skier'),
b.   *bokserka* ('a type of a female top' vs. fem. 'boxer'),
c.   *ciężarówka* ('vehicle, truck' vs. fem. 'weightlifter'),
d.   *dżokejka* ('horse riding hat' vs. fem. 'horse rider'),
e.   *góralka* (fem. 'highlander' vs. fem. 'mountain biker'),
f.   *kolarka* ('type of a bicycle' vs. fem. 'cyclist'),
g.   *maratonka* ('a shoe used in the marathon' vs. fem. 'marathonist'),
h.   *rajdówka* ('type of a car' vs. fem. 'rally driver'),
i.   *szermierka* ('fencing' vs. fem. 'fencer'),
j.   *szosówka* ('a type of bike' vs. fem. 'road racing cyclist'),
k.   *wspinaczka* ('climbing' vs. fem. 'climber').

The original meaning usually denotes an element of sports equipment. It is worth mentioning, however, that there are also masculine forms that have more than one meaning and, despite that, do not provoke communication problems (*pilot* – masc. 'pilot' vs. 'remote control', *góral* – masc. 'Alpine skier' vs. masc. 'highlander' or 'mountain bike').

In some cases, there is more than one possible suffix that can be used to derive a feminine form (*szermierka* vs. *szermierczyni* – fem. 'fencer'). If the masculine form is not yet fixed and also allows two suffixes, it is recommendable to choose the one that enables an easy derivation of a feminative, e.g. between *snowboardzista* vs. *snowboardowiec* (masc. 'snowboarder') the first form is better, since it enables the creation of *snowboardzistka* (Nowowiejski 2011: 170).

Narrowing the meaning of a word can lead to misunderstandings, e.g. in the sentences *Pani Ewa Nowak jest jedynym lekarzem w poradni.* vs. *Pani Ewa Nowak jest jedyną lekarką w poradni.* ('Mrs. Ewa Nowak is the only doctor in the clinic.'), the second one, using the feminative, suggests that Ewa Nowak is the only woman performing the job of a doctor there (Grochowska & Wierzbicka 2015: 52-53). While female forms denote

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[8] In natural phonology they are called morphonotactic clusters, cf. Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, Dressler and Pestal (2010).

only women, male forms can also be generic. As stated by Szpyra-Kozłowska: 'Due to the wider meaning of male-human nouns, they are used much more frequently than their female equivalents, which in a large extent contributes to creating so-called linguistic invisibility of women (…)' (Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska 2010: 20).

The preference for masculine forms is also motivated by the stylistic barrier. Feminatives are often considered colloquial, or even disparaging and diminishing of a profession's prestige (Grochowska & Wierzbicka 2015: 52). As a result, many women prefer to be described using the masculine (or generic) job title and do not accept the appearance of new feminatives.

4. Other displays of gender asymmetry in language

It is a subject for other research to investigate the context of sports feminatives in the first positions of search engines. They are often accompanied by descriptions of appearance or clothing, e.g. *najpiękniejsze pokerzystki* (fem. 'the most beautiful poker players'), *seksowna płotkarka* (fem. 'sexy hurdler'), *piękna krykiecistka* (fem. 'beautiful cricketer'), *sprinterka w bikini* (fem. 'a sprinter wearing a bikini'). Most of the first three pages of a Google search for *golfistka* (fem. 'golfer') give results about "the world's sexiest golfer", including a nude photo session. Obviously, this type of qualification is not common for the corresponding masculine nouns.

The female presence in sports requires more linguistic caution from sports commentators, a profession dominated by men. Polish commentators tend to identify themselves with the national teams: *wygraliśmy dwa sety* (masc. 'we won two sets'), *strzeliliśmy trzy bramki* (masc. 'we scored three goals'). Since the verbs in the 1st person plural in past tenses distinguish between genders (masc. *wygraliśmy* vs. fem. *wygrałyśmy*), sports announcers apply different strategies in the case of the achievements of women's teams. They use the inclusive male-animated form (*wygraliśmy*), although there are only women on the field, or the 3rd person verb (*wygrały* - fem. 'they won'). This form, used in relation to the result of a game, can be justified by the collective character of the discipline – the goals scored by the national team are shared with the whole community of fans (Marcjanik 2005).

Gender marking is another practice that maintains the male domination in sports (Jakubowska 2014: 525). Men's championships do not need an indication of the sportsmen's sex – the FIFA World Cup is automatically connected with men's national team competition. Nevertheless, women's

tournaments and leagues require gender marking, such as the FIFA Women's World Cup, the Women's National Basketball Association, etc. Since the majority of tournaments' names are international, the phenomenon is common to many languages.

The stereotype of a weak, inefficient woman is still visible in phraseology. Collocations such as „grać jak baba", „biegać jak baba", „jeździć jak baba" ('to play like a girl', 'to run like a girl', 'to drive like a girl'), although politically incorrect, still function in society (Jakubowska 2014: 525). Another example is comparing women's good results to those of men: „jak na dziewczynę, to całkiem dobrze zagrała", „nawet silna jak na dziewczynę" ('for a girl, she played quite well', 'for a girl, she is quite strong') or the ambiguous „gra jak facet" ('she is playing like a guy'), which could be both a compliment and an attempt at attributing "inadequate" masculine features to a woman (Jakubowska 2014: 524). It is not exclusively a problem of Polish – harmful expressions also exist in English ("to play like a girl", "don't be a woman", "man up") (Jakubowska 2014: 525) or Spanish („corres como niña" – 'you run like a girl', „fútbol es cosa de hombres" – 'football is a men's thing').

5. Conclusions

As shown in this chapter, the Polish language has not coped with the female presence in sports. This is reflected in gender asymmetry, but above all, in harmful, stigmatizing linguistic stereotypes. It means that full equality has not been achieved. This is not the point, however. The worldview created mostly by phraseology confirms that the subconscious belief about the decorative role of women in sports is still alive. Female competitors often cause pity among commentators, journalists and fans, and they are looked upon as exotic. With that said, the optimistic conclusion is that one successful sportswoman is enough to change the image of a discipline, making her a national superhero (cf. Otylia Jędrzejczak, Anita Włodarczyk or Justyna Kowalczyk). Language follows social changes faster or slower and increasing the female presence in sports is the best way to even the asymmetries.

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